

California Historical Quarterly

Fall 1975

California Historical Society

Founded June 6, 1871

Reorganized March 27, 1922

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

STAFF

J. S. Holliday, *Executive Director*; V. B. Gerhart, *Assistant Director*; Pamela L. Seager, *Secretary*; Dawn Klevesahl, *Staff Assistant*; BUSINESS: Joan L. Kerr, *Comptroller*; COMMUNITY SERVICES AND MEMBERSHIP DEVELOPMENT: Monica P. Broucek; EXHIBITS: Catherine A. Hoover, *Associate Curator*; LIBRARY: Gary F. Kurutz, *Director*; Lynn Bonfield Donovan, *Manuscript Librarian*; Lee L. Burtis, *Photographs Librarian*; Maude K. Swingle and Jay Williar, *Reference Librarians*; Joy Berry, *Cataloger*; Joyce Borden, *Genealogy*; PUBLIC PROGRAMS: Renee Grignard; PUBLICATIONS: Marilyn Ziebarth, *Executive Editor*; Marcelle Barosi, *Distribution*; BUILDINGS AND PROPERTIES: Colin Oakley, *Manager*; SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: Jean Bruce Poole, *Assistant to the Director*; Maedytha DeWolfe, Margaret Eley, *Staff Assistants*; Judith Flodin, *Assistant Exhibits Curator*; Jim Waterman, *Caretaker and Weekend Representative*.

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE: Richard Reinhardt, *Chairman*; William Bronson, Frank G. Goodall, Paul C. Johnson, Kenneth Lamott, Rodman Paul, Mrs. David Potter, Richard Pourade, Robert H. Power, Charles Wollenberg.

OFFICERS

Fred S. Farr, *President*

Robert H. Power
First Vice-President

Robert J. Banning
Second Vice-President

W. E. van Löben Sels
Third Vice-President

Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., *Treasurer*

J. S. Holliday, *Secretary*

For the term expiring 1976

William Bronson, Berkeley
Royal Robert Bush, Santa Barbara
Fred S. Farr, Carmel
Charles A. Fracchia, San Francisco
W. E. van Löben Sels, Oakville
Rodman W. Paul, Pasadena

For the term expiring 1977

David Fleishhacker, San Francisco
John B. Huntington, Piedmont
Basil D. Pearce, Piedmont
Mrs. Bland Platt, San Francisco
Robert H. Power, Nut Tree
Earl F. Schmidt, Jr., Woodside
Mrs. Robert J. Slobe, Sacramento
Brian Thompson, Castro Valley
Hugh C. Tolford, Van Nuys
Anthony J. Zanze, San Francisco

For the term expiring 1978

Robert Banning, Pasadena
Mrs. Francis D. Frost, Jr., Pasadena
Mrs. Maurice Machris, Los Angeles
Hon. Robert Peckham, San Francisco
Thomas V. Reeve, Santa Ana
John B. Ritchie, San Francisco
Albert Shumate, San Francisco
Mrs. Stuart D. Squair, Piedmont
Mrs. Hadley Stuart, Los Angeles
Henry Teichert, Sacramento
Edison Uno, San Francisco

COVER: In less than a half-century, Los Angeles mushroomed from a tiny pueblo of 1,600 souls in 1850 to a thriving metropolis of 100,000 newcomers, most of whom had arrived after 1880. As evidenced by this unusual and painstakingly precise birdseye view of the downtown business section in 1895, this intense and condensed growth resulted in a striking architectural consistency, readily apparent in such landmarks as the Bryson Block (upper left), the Nadeau Hotel (upper right), and St. Vibiana's Cathedral on Main Street (lower right). For an overview of the archives of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History which contains this view and a wealth of other rare pictorial records, turn to the article beginning on page 272.

California Historical Quarterly

VOLUME LIV FALL 1975 NO. 3

J. S. HOLLIDAY, *Director*

MARILYN ZIEBARTH, *Executive Editor*

CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *Reviews Editor*

ANNA MARIE HAGER, *Editorial Assistant*



COPYRIGHT 1975

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco 94109

Second-class postage paid at San Francisco, California

ISBN 0008-1175



With necklace of animal claws and shells, Harry, a Hopi Snake priest, consented to be photographed by the redoubtable turn-of-the-century amateur photographer, Adam Clark Vroman. The Vroman collection is among several important photograph collections at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, described in the California history resources article beginning on page 272.

Contents

VOLUME LIV FALL 1975 NO. 3

The Octopus Reconsidered:
The Southern Pacific and Agricultural
Modernization in California, 1865-1915
by RICHARD J. ORSI
197

Insurgents on the Baja Peninsula:
Henry Halleck's Journal of the War in
Lower California, 1847-1848
by JOHN D. YATES
221

The Steam Beer Handicap:
Chris Buckley and the San Francisco
Municipal Election of 1896
by WILLIAM A. BULLOUGH
245

R. D. Ginther, Workingman Artist and
Historian of Skid Road
263

REVIEWS

California History Resources:
The Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History
272

Book Reviews
277

California Check List
285



When the Southern Pacific's first agricultural demonstration train rolled into Chico in November, 1908, skeptical but curious crowds visited the "University on Wheels" to meet agricultural experts and learn about innovations which would improve their livestock and crops. Hoping to stabilize and develop California's lagging economy, the railroad expanded the program until by 1913 its special trains were being visited by more than 100,000 farm people and rural school children.

The Octopus Reconsidered: The Southern Pacific and Agricultural Modernization in California, 1865-1915

RICHARD J. ORSI

*Associate professor of history at California State University, Hayward,
interested in the history of western settlement.*

GREAT DREAMS AND HIGH EXPECTATIONS filled the air in May, 1869, when railroadmen and reporters gathered at Promontory Summit, Utah Territory, to witness the driving of the golden spike which completed America's first transcontinental railroad. In retrospect, however, the spike proved to be a symbolic pin touched to the balloon of naive dreams inflated by most Californians who anticipated that the railroad would end California's isolation and bring them unparalleled prosperity, cultural maturity, and social stability. Despite all predictions, settlers did not immediately flock to the state; legendary new markets, especially for California's farm products, proved elusive for several decades; and depressions which had periodically enmired the state since the decline of mining in the mid-1850's continued and worsened. Moreover, the organizers of the Central Pacific Railroad, a co-builder of the transcontinental road, quickly absorbed most water and rail competition, chiefly the Southern Pacific Railroad, which they built into a second transcontinental line by 1883. When California's Big Four—Crocker, Hopkins, Huntington, and Stanford—consolidated their monopoly interests into a gigantic holding firm, the Southern Pacific Company, in 1884, throughout the nation and particularly in California frustrated farmers and merchants and land seekers heaped their troubles, especially high transportation rates, slumping economic conditions, and the slowness of agricultural development, upon the highly visible railroad monopoly. For the rest of the century in California, hatred of the Southern Pacific and its tactics rallied the followers of a bevy of farm, business, labor, and political movements. In Frank Norris' classic novel, *The Octopus*, the author expressed a popular conclusion when he described the railroad as

the symbol of a vast power, huge, terrible, flinging the echo of its thunder over all the reaches of the valley, leaving blood and destruction in its path; the leviathan, with tentacles of steel clutching into the soil, the soulless Force, the iron-hearted Power, the monster, the Colossus, the Octopus.¹

By accepting the rhetoric of the Southern Pacific's nineteenth-century critics, historians have generally perpetuated the view that until the "progressive" victory in 1910, the railroad was the major instigator of corruption, the principal antagonist of farmers, and the primary obstacle to economic development and political reform in California.² It would be idle to deny the essential truth of many historical accounts of the Southern Pacific. The company was indeed a huge monopoly which deployed an arsenal of weapons, including bribery, power politics, and economic reprisals, in order to defend its domain. Moreover, the railroad's needs often conflicted with those of other groups. Unfortunately, however, the traditional framework for interpreting the Southern Pacific has focused attention on questions and problems which no longer yield new insights. By dutifully, and often accurately, reciting the depredations of the Big Four, historians have ignored the complexity of the Southern Pacific, for generations the state's largest economic institution, and its important role in the process of growth and change which revolutionized California between 1869 and 1915. The extensive agricultural and land promotional activities of the Southern Pacific and its officials suggest that, contrary to the traditional interpretation, the railroad during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in many ways linked its own interest with the progress of the state. In response to expansion and change within itself and the national industry, the corporation evolved an extensive, specialized organization whose middle-level executives—generally overlooked by historians who have emphasized the more spectacular careers of the Big Four—acquired considerable expertise and responsibility for fostering development. As a result, the company often used its organizational and financial power to strengthen and diversify California's economy, to stabilize her chaotic society, and to further the welfare of her citizens, including farmers.³

Despite the irreconcilable conflict traditionally assumed to have existed between the railroad and the public good, many lines of self-interest bound the Southern Pacific to the welfare of Californians. Successful railroad operations in several areas depended on social and economic progress in California. Freight and passenger traffic, the principal source of the railroad's income, was of course directly related to the population and economy of the state, as was the value and marketability of the railroad's extensive land grant, scattered throughout the Central Valley, the foothills of the Sierra, and the southern deserts. Financing the expansion of the Central and Southern Pacific lines, a constant source of anxiety to Collis P. Huntington and other associates, was also based upon such factors as traffic revenues, land-grant sales, and the general economy of California.⁴

Because of its financial dependence on progress in the state, the Southern Pacific was profoundly affected by California's arrested development. Caught in the breach between a declining mining industry and sluggish agricultural development, California in the period from 1869 to 1900 suffered chronic depressions, punctuated with sudden speculative flurries and collapses in mining stocks or real estate. Despite many real gains, the state's instability signified an unbalanced, immature economy, heavily dependent on the market for a few commodities: mining stocks, land, or grain. Although more diversified agriculture had been developing steadily since the 1850's, peculiar conditions in California continued to retard growth: land monopoly, the large amount of capital necessary to begin

and cultivate farms successfully, confusing and contradictory water laws, a lag in irrigation technology, the continuing dependence on mining and livestock and cereal agriculture, an imbalance in political power favoring the mining regions and San Francisco, and the formidable market disadvantages of distance and poor organization. These economic problems, along with the state's tenacious reputation for violence, drunkenness, and shortage of opportunity, kept California's population growth at disappointing levels. Although population, due largely to natural increase, grew from 560,000 in 1870 to 1,485,000 in 1900, California remained about twentieth in the ranks of states while other areas of the Middle and Far West were making spectacular gains.⁵

California's economic retardation impinged directly on the Southern Pacific's business. Frequent depressions, crop failures, and declines in population growth were a constant vexation to the company's officials. The prolonged depression from the mid-1870's to the early 1880's shrank land sales for the Central Pacific from \$1,203,870 in 1877 to \$201,716 in 1879 and for the Southern Pacific from \$365,811 to \$68,153 during the same period. Meanwhile, through-passenger traffic on the Central Pacific tumbled from 105,341 in 1875 to 62,056 in 1879 and failed to regain pre-depression numbers until 1883. Another long depression in California during the 1890's decreased traffic revenues and land sales and greatly increased the rate of default on land contracts.⁶ Depressed conditions in agriculture and industry also strengthened the inclination to make the Southern Pacific the scapegoat for the state's problems and spawned a variety of anti-corporate and anti-railroad movements among California's farmers, laborers, and even some businessmen.⁷

Impulses from within the railroad industry as well as external pressures also pushed the Southern Pacific to identify with California's development. Many historians have shown that during the last half of the nineteenth century self-interest led the land-grant railroads to advertise their territories, promote compact settlement by small farmers, and encourage agricultural diversity and stability. By the 1880's railway land, advertising, and agricultural departments, through extensive interchange of personnel and information on effective land policies, had become largely professionalized and standardized. The California railroads, in sponsoring growth in California, were merely applying well-tested principles of railroading to the specific problems of California. Rivalry among the land-grant roads likewise spurred the Southern Pacific to greater promotional efforts. During the 1880's, western railroads raced to expand and consolidate their domains by redoubling their efforts to sell land and populate their regions. Well aware that success would swell profits while failure meant possible receivership, Southern Pacific executives increasingly devoted the resources of the railroad to developing California.⁸

The Big Four wisely chose long-time residents of California to design and manage development programs. The careers of these officials before, during, and after their work for the railroad—in the fields of government, journalism, agriculture, and science—demonstrate that they were men who identified with social and economic progress in California and who viewed railroad employment as another dimension of that larger task. Before Benjamin B. Redding's appointment as chief land agent in the mid-1860's, he had dabbled in mining, journalism,

and law and had been elected secretary of state. While land agent, Redding also became a leading authority and writer on climate, agriculture, and natural science, an organizer and patron of the California Academy of Sciences, a commissioner of the state fisheries, and a regent of the University of California.⁹ William H. Mills, who directed Southern Pacific land and advertising programs from Redding's death in 1882 until his own in 1907, had been editor and proprietor of the Sacramento *Record-Union* and a leader of prison reform, temperance, and anti-hydraulic mining movements. Later Mills was an active member of the state Yosemite Park commission and an organizer of various conservation, irrigation, and agricultural reform movements.¹⁰ Similar career patterns could also be traced for such officials as Jerome Madden, long-time assistant agent specifically in charge of the Southern Pacific Railroad lands, I. N. Hoag, immigration commissioner in the 1880's, Charles B. Turrill, exposition manager in the 1880's and 1890's, and James Horsburgh, director of advertising for the passenger department in the 1890's and early 1900's.¹¹

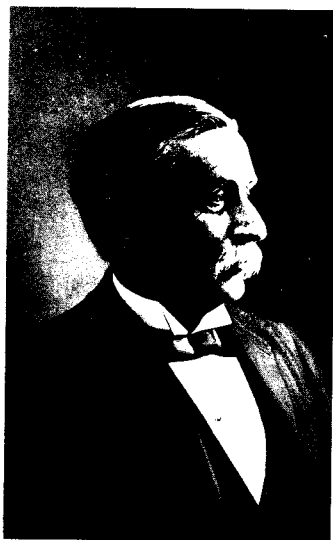
Like many other leaders working within a variety of government agencies, agricultural and commercial organizations, and more specialized immigration promotion groups, Southern Pacific officials were convinced that California's future, and thus the railroad's, depended upon the successful substitution of diversified agriculture for mining as the basis of the state's economy.¹² They thus designed the railroad's development programs especially to stimulate agricultural change. As early as 1863, Governor Leland Stanford, president of the newborn Central Pacific, opened the campaign with an address to the State Agricultural Society in which he proposed that Californians remedy the state's slack population growth by fostering easier transportation, perfecting the state's agricultural resources, and spreading "out before the farming communities of the other states authentic information, in the shape of reliable statistics, as to the productions of our soil, and the noble field that is here offered for the industrious and energetic farmer."¹³ Later executives, especially those in charge of the railroad's promotion programs, amplified Stanford's early support of agriculture. Land agent B. B. Redding also contributed many writings on agricultural topics, including irrigation, citrus and olive culture, wheat production, and climate. I. N. Hoag, a long-time booster of agriculture as secretary of the State Agricultural Society, early pioneer of silk culture, and agricultural editor of several San Francisco and Sacramento newspapers in the 1860's and 1870's, continued to publicize the need to revolutionize California farming after his appointment as assistant land agent for the Central Pacific in 1883 by travelling throughout the state, addressing local business and agricultural organizations, and writing articles for local newspapers.¹⁴

Probably the most articulate and systematic of the Southern Pacific agricultural promoters, however, was William H. Mills, chief land agent from 1883 to 1907. In many widely-reported speeches and writings, Mills attacked mining as the cause of the state's economic instability, social disorder, and sluggish population growth and appealed for more efforts to quicken California's farming life. Since "countries prolific of precious metals are proverbially poor," Mills maintained, California's progress could ultimately be built only upon an agricultural base. In the "fertility of our soils, and the expanded possibilities of our own climate," California would find the "hopeful direction of permanent greatness."¹⁵

Like other railroad leaders, Mills was dissatisfied with general farming or the growing of cereal crops, however, since these did not take full advantage of California's diverse climate, which duplicated that of many different agricultural regions of the world and gave the state the power to develop many high-value specialty crops. The building and improvement of railroad transportation enhanced this potential. Mills repeatedly pointed out that as freight rates declined between California and the population centers of eastern America, distinct agricultural regions in California, with their markets rapidly expanding, would be free to specialize even further in the crops for which they were ideally suited. The great variety among the state's local growing regions would ensure a diversity of specialty crops and a corresponding economic stability. Horticulture, then in the infant stages of development, would provide the most important specialization. Such an agricultural system, Mills assured Californians, would result in higher profits, more developed rural areas, increased land values, healthier urban economies, and greater population density.¹⁶

Of course Mills, along with other Southern Pacific officials, perceived that the maturation of commercialized agriculture would enrich the corporation, as well as the state's citizens. Even Collis P. Huntington, the target of some of the most vehement attacks by critics of the Southern Pacific, agreed that one of the best ways for the company to enlarge rail traffic was to refine agricultural techniques. Frequently, as in a detailed letter to Mills in 1894, Huntington called attention to foreign crops that might be introduced with profit into the state.¹⁷ His annual reports in the 1890's, after he had replaced Stanford as president of the Southern Pacific Company, also reflected Huntington's awareness that the railroad's destiny was linked directly to the success of California's farmers. The reports of 1891 through 1896, for instance, analyzed the impact of low wheat prices and other California economic troubles on the declining profits of the company but rejoiced that progress in irrigation, the subdivision of large tracts into small farms, and the development of horticulture foretold of better days to come. "The many advantages of climate and soil which the State of California offers to settlers are becoming better known each year," he observed in 1892, "and as the large tracts of land are cut up and new sections are opened up by the railroads, there will be a steady increase in the population and material wealth of that State, and in which this company will receive its share in the improvement of its earnings."¹⁸ After control of the Southern Pacific shifted from the hands of the Big Four and their families at the turn of the century, the company's new leaders continued to relate the railroad's well being to agricultural development.¹⁹

The public pro-agricultural views of Southern Pacific leaders were embodied in many programs to assist and organize farmers and to overcome the state's internal problems which were delaying agricultural change. For example, the Southern Pacific provided powerful and possibly decisive support in the 1870's and early 1880's for the anti-hydraulic mining movement in the Sacramento Valley. The *Sacramento Record-Union*, edited by Mills and partially owned by the railroad, was instrumental in rallying support for the valley's farmers and in founding the Anti-Debris Association, which ultimately secured favorable court decisions preventing the dumping of hydraulic mining wastes into the valley's river system. I. N. Hoag, agricultural editor of the paper, served as secretary of



Benjamin Redding (right), the Southern Pacific's land agent from the 1860's, and William Mills (left), who succeeded him in 1882, became agricultural authorities committed to developing the state's economy.



the association until his appointment in 1883 as Mills's assistant in the Central Pacific's land department.²⁰ The *Record-Union* in the 1870's also supported the founding of local Granges, while Leland Stanford and David Colton helped the Grangers' Immigration Bureau reorganize itself in 1875.²¹ After his appointment as chief land agent for the Southern Pacific in 1883, Mills and other officials repeatedly exhorted farmers to form cooperatives to solve problems of overproduction and marketing.²²

When cooperatives finally emerged in the 1880's and 1890's, the railroad assisted them by encouraging farmers to join, improving refrigeration technology, running express fruit trains, and sponsoring advertising campaigns to widen and organize California fruit markets. Beginning with the Centennial Exposition of 1876, the railroad sent costly displays to eastern fairs, which helped establish California's reputation as a leading fruit-growing region.²³ As the company matured, it developed more specialized and systematic advertising techniques. In 1907, the Southern Pacific offered to match the advertising budget of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange in a concerted effort to expand eastern consumption of California oranges. From 1907 to 1911, the railroad and the Exchange cooperated to send lecturers, displays, posters, and "California Fruit Special" trains to the Middle West and other areas to increase orange sales several fold, to establish the "Sunkist" brand name, and, incidentally, to stimulate migration to California. Smaller-scale campaigns after 1900 also assisted the organized growers of raisins, prunes, and other deciduous fruits.²⁴ *Sunset*, the railway's promotional monthly, and other Southern Pacific organs also publicized California fruit. Frequently, railroad propaganda aimed at changing the eating habits of the young. The "California Prune Primer," a 1901 pamphlet designed as a supplemental reader for elementary school children and sent by the company to 100,000 teachers across the country, created a mild sensation. Teachers and parents deluged the railroad with requests for extra copies. Within a few months more than 500,000 had been distributed. The outcome of this experiment led the company to issue other California "primers" with equal success.²⁵

Since previous experience with eastern conditions proved a poor model for cultivation of the arid West, successful agricultural development depended on the accumulation of exact knowledge concerning the state's diverse and unique climates, soils, and pests. Possessed of the structure, capital, and will to accomplish

such a task, the Southern Pacific exerted a powerful influence on the collection and dissemination of organized agricultural information. As soon as they were established, local Southern Pacific stations, many in newly-settled regions beyond the scope of widely-scattered government weather stations, began to make systematic weather observations and to gather information on local soils, crop production, and water resources. From the late 1860's to the early 1900's, the railroad regularly furnished precipitation and temperature readings and other data to such agencies as the Army Signal Service, the United States Department of Agriculture, the United States Coast Survey, and the University of California, who in turn used it in climatic reports and agricultural experiments.²⁶

Land department surveyors, graders, and other company officials by the 1870's were likewise building a fund of information about the agricultural potential of many localities. B. B. Redding was particularly active in the accumulation of climatological and soil statistics. Building upon regular observations made over a six-year period by local station agents and surveyors, Redding in 1877 compiled a detailed report on the soil and weather characteristics of the San Joaquin Valley from Tulare south to the Tehachapi Mountains, copies of which he provided to agricultural developers such as James B. Haggin and government agencies such as the United States Coast Survey.²⁷ Redding's growing knowledge of California's agricultural resources was also embodied in a multitude of valuable papers, one of which, "The Climate of California," remained among the most reprinted and influential summaries of the subject for several decades.²⁸ Redding also arranged for the railroad to assist Eugene W. Hilgard, the University of California's pioneer agricultural scientist, in his important early analysis of California soils. In 1880, the Southern Pacific assigned a young engineer, N. J. Willson, to work under Hilgard's direction. Trained by Hilgard in the techniques of taking soil samples and making field observations, Willson for three months travelled alone by handcar along the railroad's lines from the northern Sacramento Valley to the Mexican border. Persuaded by Willson's hundreds of samples and voluminous field notes that his own initial "impressions regarding the upper valley of the San Joaquin were not very correct," Hilgard used the information as the basis for the report on California agriculture he published as part of the census of 1880.²⁹

In these and other ways, the Southern Pacific became a leading patron of scientific farming in California. Especially after 1900, railroad officials did their best to attract experts to the state to overcome the complex problems hindering agricultural progress. When pear blight threatened to devastate several important deciduous orchard industries, James Horsburgh, assistant passenger agent, appealed to Governor George Pardee and Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson, secured the services of M. B. Waite, plant pathologist for the Department of Agriculture, and kept him in California at his task despite the department's attempt to reassign him before his research had been completed.³⁰ Horsburgh also prevailed upon Governor Pardee to invite numerous national scientific bodies, such as the American Association of Farmers' Institute Workers, the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, and the Association of Official Agricultural Chemists, to hold their annual conventions in California. Occasionally, the Southern Pacific itself helped to organize the activities and pay the expenses of agricultural specialists. In the case of a 1905 visit by national

irrigation experts, railway officials accompanied the group throughout its ten-day stay, gathered distinguished California scientists and other residents to meet with them, and paid much of the cost of transportation, lodging, and entertainment.³¹

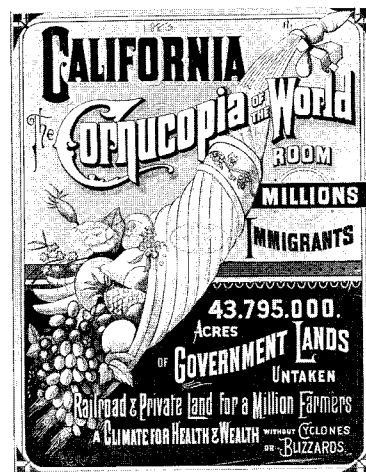
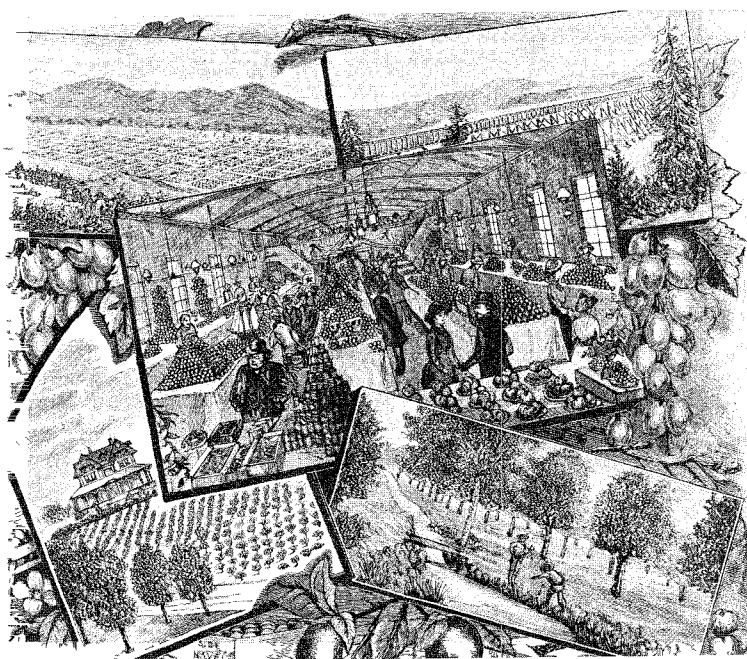
As new information and techniques accumulated, the railroad helped to educate farmers, especially by furthering the extension services of the University of California. *Sunset* regularly carried articles encouraging California's farmers to avail themselves of the latest developments in citrus growing, fruit harvesting and shipping, and agricultural education in schools and colleges.³² The railroad furnished free transportation for chemicals, plants, and farm produce used in agricultural experiments at the university, as well as free or half-fare tickets for the university's research and extension workers and their equipment.³³ In cooperation with the university and other agricultural research institutions, the railroad in 1908 began organizing and financing an annual "University on Wheels" to bring state experts and their innovations into every important agricultural community in the state. Composed of five to ten cars, these special trains featured lectures and demonstrations of new techniques in animal husbandry, fertilizers, cereals, horticulture, disease and pest control, poultry, irrigation, and home and farm sanitation. The scope of this service increased until by 1913 the "Agricultural and Horticultural Train" was annually travelling 6,000 miles, stopping at 237 towns, and being visited by more than 100,000 farmers and rural school children. Warren T. Clarke, superintendent of agricultural extension for the university, applauded this joint university-railroad venture as "the most extensive effort of the kind that has ever been put forth in any part of the country."³⁴

In addition to the shortage of reliable agricultural information, primitive and disorganized water management also stunted California's agricultural growth before World War I. Along with other promoters in state and local governments, businessmen's groups, and farm organizations, the Southern Pacific, whose officials perceived that intensive and diversified agriculture could never be built upon natural rainfall alone, became an important force behind both the expansion of irrigation and the gradual acceptance of public responsibility for orderly development and distribution of water resources. William H. Mills, the most active railroad advocate of water management, in many ways prefigured twentieth-century California water development. Having been introduced to the dangers of uncontrolled water usage by the periodic flooding of the Sacramento River and the hydraulic mining controversy, Mills believed that California's complex water problems could be solved only by a comprehensive, scientific, and long-range management program aimed at balancing the often conflicting requirements of flood control, irrigation, swamp drainage, and inland navigation. In editorials, speeches, and promotional activities from the 1870's to the 1900's, Mills campaigned for such a complete water program on the grounds that it was essential to economic development, agricultural and city growth, and increased population density.³⁵ Mills, as the leading founder and director of the California State Board of Trade, also converted that organization into one of the major pressure groups for irrigation development.³⁶ A perennial representative of the Board of Trade, the Southern Pacific, or the state governor to the irrigation congresses of the 1890's and early 1900's, Mills helped to popularize the concept that

long-range planning and equitable distribution required government ownership of water supplies. To prevent corporate interests from monopolizing public water resources and to ensure that California would become the home of small farmers, Mills, long before the Newlands Act of 1902, urged that the amount of water one land owner could receive from public reserves be limited to that needed to irrigate one family farm.³⁷

Linked to Mills's advocacy of irrigation development was his support of conservation. Believing that protection of watersheds, as well as the development of recreational facilities for an expanding population, required careful forest management, Mills, as editor of the *Record-Union* and later as land agent, became one of the first sponsors of scientific forestry in California.³⁸ In the 1880's as a leading member of the state commission to govern Yosemite Valley, Mills pressed with considerable success for more scientific administration of the park and supported the crusades of conservationists to protect Yosemite's beauty. After 1900, when political controversy and inadequate state funding continually eroded the commission's ability to develop the park, he became a leader in the movement to return it to the federal government. In cooperation with the Sierra Club, he authored the recession bill which was introduced into the state legislature and chaired a State Board of Trade committee to rally the support of business organizations across the state for its passage in early 1905.³⁹ Mills also helped establish Big Basin Redwoods State Park in the early 1900's. Appointed by Governor Henry Gage to the California Redwood Commission, he investigated the Big Basin area, negotiated the purchase of the land, brought forestry experts such as Gifford Pinchot to California to consult with the park's managers, and used company influences in Washington to get the federal government to withdraw from sale and grant to the state 3,000 acres of public land adjacent to the park.⁴⁰

Among the widely distributed railroad publications which encouraged emigration, land sales, and specialized agriculture was California, The Cornucopia of the World (1883). The pamphlet's illustrations featured "typical" agricultural fairs, irrigation projects, and fruit orchards.



Other Southern Pacific officials, in their writings and speeches from the 1870's to the 1900's, continually boosted the cause of irrigation and conservation in California.⁴¹ After 1900, *Sunset* became a major forum for writers, many of them state and federal experts, on the social and agricultural benefits of irrigation, publicly managed water resources, scientific forestry, and the preservation of endangered bird and animal species.⁴² When the Colorado River in 1905 began pouring through a break in an irrigation system and into the Imperial Valley, which was below sea level, the Southern Pacific performed its most direct services on behalf of irrigation in California. With its tracks and the valuable farms in the valley endangered, the railroad loaned \$450,000 to the California Development Company, manager of the irrigation system, constructed a special track to the gap, and in an all-out effort in January and February, 1907, succeeded in closing the opening, after an expenditure of over \$1,600,000. After the railroad absorbed the assets of the Development Company, which had failed due to the crisis, the Southern Pacific proved for nearly a decade to be an efficient organizer of the valley's water resources, thus laying the basis for a period of rapid development there.⁴³

Perhaps the most important aspect of the Southern Pacific's development program was the subdivision of much of the railroad's land grant into productive farms and the attraction of a larger population to cultivate them and consume their products. Contrary to the traditional view that the company was a deliberate land monopolist, refusing to sell in expectation of increased future values, the Southern Pacific, as other land-grant roads, undertook to dispose of its lands as quickly as possible, a task that required heroic expenditures of energy and money. As in the case of agricultural promotion, the railroad's efforts to boost land sales and immigration were rooted in enlightened self-interest. Land pamphlets and the reports of land officials repeatedly claimed that

the policy of the Company is and has always been, to sell its lands at low prices, and upon easy terms of payment. Its Directors believe its best interests are promoted by selling its lands near the line of the road to men who will personally cultivate the soil, and who will own the land they cultivate. By this means an industrious, agricultural population is invited, whose improvements and the product of whose labor, tend to enhance the value of the unsold lands.⁴⁴

Such public testimonials, commonly denounced by critics of the railroad as mere rhetoric, actually reflected a consistent company policy from the 1860's, when land patents first began to flow from the federal government, until the early 1900's when the Big Four lost control of the railroad. Huntington, for example, in his extensive private correspondence with Mark Hopkins in the 1870's, repeatedly returned to the theme of "the necessity of passing . . . [the lands] out of the ownership of the R.R.Co." in order not only to increase the value of the remaining lands, but also to help finance new construction, to reassure holders of mortgages that the lands were valuable, and to stimulate greater freight and passenger revenues.⁴⁵ To some extent, rapid sale of the land grant was also a logical outgrowth of the railroad's sponsorship of agricultural change in California. The most direct way for the Southern Pacific to stimulate the spread of agriculture, with all of its benefits for the railroad, was to convert its own vacant acres into producing farms.

Political considerations also shaped land policy. Appeasement of settlers and orderly disposal of the land grant would, company officials hoped, help reduce the growing adverse public opinion toward the Southern Pacific and protect the company's ability to profit from the lands. Periodically, railway leaders, in thwarting attempts by Congress to rescind their grant, pointed to voluminous sales as visible proof that the road was providing a valuable public service by subdividing its lands. Land agent Mills throughout the 1880's countered the Southern Pacific's critics with the argument that railroad retention of the lands would ensure that the company, out of its own self-interest, would continue to promote the state's growth. "The company, of course, is very anxious to settle the land in such a way that there would be a large amount of money to the transportation side of the account," he testified before the Pacific Railway Commission in 1887. "Here is an instance where the owner of the land is interested in the progress of settlement. The land pays the company, perhaps, much better after it is settled than it does by the price of it."⁴⁶ Such arguments proved quite successful for the Southern Pacific. In 1884, for instance, a bill in Congress to force the Central Pacific to forfeit the land which had been granted to the California and Oregon Railroad, now one of its subsidiaries, was widely opposed by California newspapers. For all its faults, many editors grudgingly admitted, the Central Pacific would probably develop the lands more rapidly than other owners, even the federal government.⁴⁷

In addition to their economic and political reasons for promoting rapid settlement of railroad lands, Southern Pacific officials also operated within the context of "agrarian" social ideas, so popular in the late nineteenth century among California boosters and many other Americans as well. Railroad promoters viewed land and its intensive cultivation as the ultimate basis of both wealth and social order. Not only would the expansion of farms cure California's economic ills and fatten railroad coffers, but it would also stabilize the state's society, a development from which the company also stood to gain. Redding, in an 1881 address on the necessity of promoting agricultural immigration to California, observed that the way to enhance social progress in the state was to

fasten men, by ownership, to the land they cultivate. This ownership converts the "tramp" into an industrious citizen; the agrarian and communist into conservative and law abiding members of our society; and the indifferent and thriftless into habits of prudence and economy. Every man who goes on the public land to make a home, not only adds to the wealth of the nation, and to the permanence and security of civilized society, but he becomes an additional surety for the enactment of just laws, for honesty and economy in public expenditures and for perpetuity of good government.⁴⁸

Southern Pacific promoters in the land and passenger departments such as William H. Mills and James Horsburgh, though they were for the most part urban businessmen, echoed Redding's sentiments well into the twentieth century.⁴⁹

The severity of California's social and economic problems and the Southern Pacific's commitment to their solution often led railroad officials to espouse more radical land views than might be expected from businessmen in the Gilded Age. Reputedly, Leland Stanford, after reading *Progress and Poverty* in 1880, declared himself to be a "disciple" of Henry George.⁵⁰ More importantly, William H. Mills, in a series of essays and addresses, denounced land monopoly as the state's

most debilitating illness and advanced methods to cure it which were reminiscent of George and other late nineteenth-century reformers. His most vigorous and comprehensive statement was given as a speech before San Francisco's Chit-Chat Club in December, 1891, which was ultimately published as a pamphlet, *California Land Holdings* (San Francisco, 1892), and widely reprinted and applauded by California newspapers. Drawing primarily upon the example of four Sacramento Valley counties, where population had either stagnated or declined because of growing concentration of land ownership in the 1880's, Mills condemned large land holdings for delaying economic growth, keeping rural areas thinly settled and undeveloped, degrading the common people, increasing the use of unskilled "tramp" or Chinese labor, generating class divisions and disorder, overcrowding the cities with unemployed people, and in other ways menacing the stability of a free society and government. In proposing methods to control land monopoly, Mills advanced beyond the views of other California promoters, who generally were satisfied with encouraging land owners to subdivide their property voluntarily. Since the public welfare, in his view, was superior to the rights of private property, Mills suggested that the California legislature prevent the mortgaging of land as security for loans, make illegal the accumulation of land by foreclosure of mortgages, and pass laws restricting land ownership to the amount that could be cultivated by one family. This could be accomplished partly by prohibiting the conveyance of more than 1,000 acres to any individual in a will. Excess lands should be sold for the estate at an auction supervised by the courts to ensure subdivision into small parcels. Mills's land and water ideas were closely interrelated. The preeminence of the small family farm in California could also be protected, he believed, by government development of water resources and limitations on the amount of public irrigation water allowed each customer.⁵¹

A combination of economic self-interest and acceptance by Southern Pacific officials of conventional social theory prompted the railroad in its promotional activities to emphasize, wherever possible, the creation of densely settled rural communities of small farmers. Railroad booster literature, ranging from subsidized writings such as Charles Nordhoff's popular works to official company pamphlets, typically stressed the important role of cooperative colonies in overcoming the social and economic impediments to California's agricultural advancement and described in considerable detail the successful operations of such settlements at Anaheim in the south and Fresno in the San Joaquin Valley. The Sacramento *Record-Union*, both before and after editor Mills became the company's land agent, was a leading advocate of agricultural colonies in the valleys of Northern California, persistently arguing from the 1870's onward that only by following the lead of pioneers to the south could the northern regions keep in step with agricultural change. Meanwhile, Southern Pacific officials, especially Mills, Redding, and Hoag, repeatedly exhorted Californians to pool their resources into colonies. Increasingly, the Southern Pacific's own land development agencies and its subsidiary land corporations rejected haphazard land disposal in favor of founding organized agricultural settlements as stimulants to land sales and freight and passenger traffic.⁵²

The Southern Pacific evolved a land sales and development program in the late nineteenth century resembling that of the other land-grant roads.⁵³ Land depart-

ments were organized for the Central Pacific, Southern Pacific, Western Pacific, and California and Oregon railroads from 1865 to the early 1880's. At first the promotional activities of the land departments tended to be haphazard, due to delays in receiving patents from the federal government, the time-consuming task of surveying and grading lands, the uncertainties of California agriculture, and the absorption of railroad energies in expansion and putting the company on a sound financial footing. Through the early 1880's sales were relatively small, and the company failed to institute a systematic advertising plan.⁵⁴ The early impediments began to be removed by the mid-1880's, however, when the stabilization of the company's affairs, the independence gained by the completion of the Southern Pacific's route to New Orleans, and an upsurge in California's economy invigorated the railroad's land programs. By May, 1883, when Mills announced the inauguration of an aggressive land and immigration program, the main features of the Southern Pacific's plan had taken shape.⁵⁵

Like the other land-grant railways, the Southern Pacific dispensed land pamphlets and placed newspaper advertisements describing the resources of its lands, as well as the general attractions of California. It also established a network of immigration agents throughout the world, including Hoag as immigration commissioner in Chicago. In addition, the railway channeled financial and transportation subsidies into California's growing booster organizations, which were attempting to promote agriculture settlement, and spawned many generations of California displays at local and international fairs.⁵⁶ In order to attract settlers and speed land sales, the Southern Pacific also introduced a credit system in the late 1860's which required minimal down payments and interest charges of only ten percent per annum. In several stages, the railroad liberalized its credit terms until by the early 1900's, purchasers had their choice of several low-cost plans. This service was valuable in a state which suffered from shortages of capital for agricultural enterprise. By the 1880's, the overwhelming majority of the railroad's land sales was on credit.⁵⁷ The churning of the Southern Pacific's propaganda machinery produced sharply increased land sales in the 1800's, and by the early 1900's, most of the company's accessible agricultural and grazing holdings had been liquidated.⁵⁸

The effect of the Southern Pacific's land programs has long been debated. The charge by early critics that the railroad refused to sell land so that it might benefit itself from rising values is belied by the voluminous land sales and prodigious efforts of the land department in the late nineteenth century. Another hypothesis, that the railroad sold land indiscriminately to speculators with little or no attention to planned settlement and thus aggravated land monopoly, is more difficult to evaluate. Available evidence suggests that before the 1880's, the Southern Pacific, like the other land-grant roads, did indeed succumb to the temptation to acquire much-needed capital by selling land as rapidly and in as large parcels as possible. At least one historian, by combing the records of Central Valley counties, has shown that in these years most railroad lands fell into the hands of large operators.⁵⁹ Other evidence, however, suggests that even in the early years of land sales the enunciated preference of railway officials for compact settlement by small farmers also shaped company land policy. In the 1870's and early 1880's, before it possessed elaborate land development institutions of its own, the railroad consigned some of its land to the California Immigrant Union and the Pacific

Coast Land Bureau, both of which specialized in planting agricultural colonies. In addition, some railroad land did go to small farmers. Land Agent Redding reported that in 1877 alone, 500 families, many of them driven north by drought in Southern California, had been settled on Central Pacific land in Colusa and Tehama counties.⁶⁰

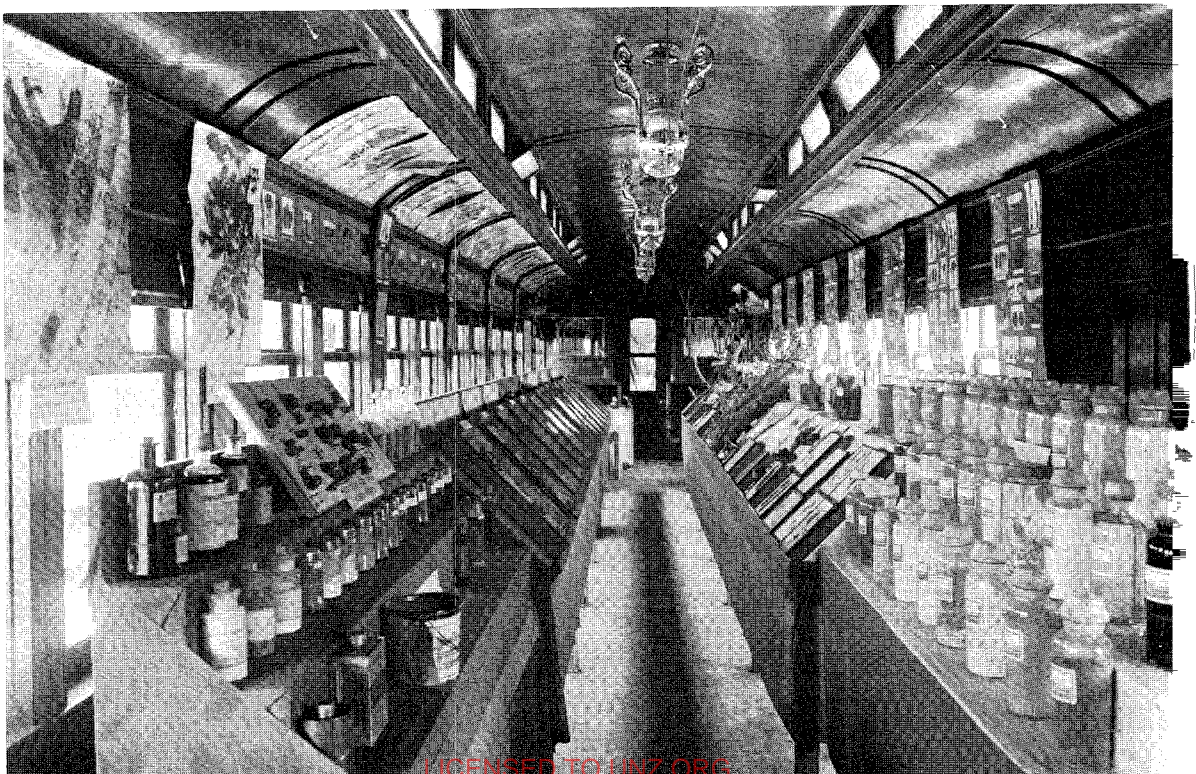
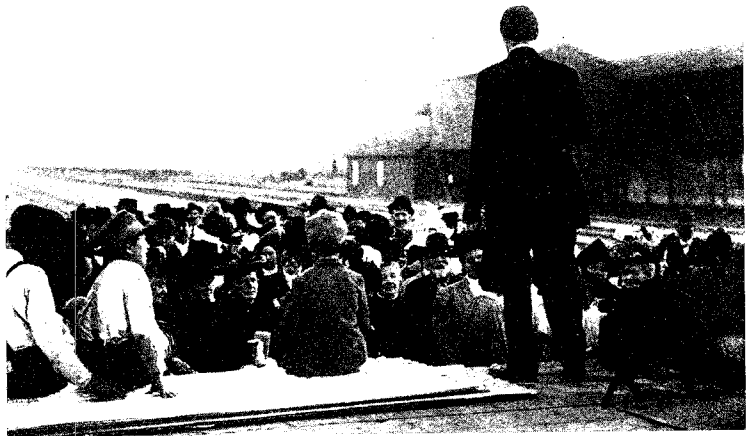
Whereas its early colonization methods, like its promotional techniques, were unsystematic, after the mid-1880's the company's commitment to sponsoring compact settlement grew. The Southern Pacific's financial affairs became more stable, and with the company's expansion program slowing to a manageable pace, the pressure to find quick capital, and hence to dispose of the land grant as quickly as possible, subsided. California's economy was reviving from the doldrums of the seventies, largely because of an influx of middle-class land seekers who demanded and could afford developed agricultural lands. The expanded and systematized advertising and sales procedures introduced by Mills in 1883 were matched by more active programs to carve the land grant into smaller parcels and to settle colonies of farmers on them. In 1884, the company revised sales policies to encourage rapid settlement and cultivation of its lands. Henceforth, buyers who signed contracts to occupy and improve lands immediately were offered discounts of 33 to 40 per cent.⁶¹

In addition to relying on the considerable experience of its land agents, the railroad in the 1880's and 1890's sought the assistance of outside experts in planning its colonization programs. In the late 1880's, the Southern Pacific commissioned William Hammond Hall, former state engineer and California's foremost authority on irrigation, to conduct a detailed study of the land grant, particularly the ways in which irrigation might be employed to enhance its value and productivity. Hall's report encouraged railway officials to rethink land policies and to shift their focus from rapid disposal to building irrigation systems and developing lands before selling them.⁶² In 1889, these concerns were embodied into a new corporate department, the Southern Pacific Colonization Agency, which labored especially to establish settlements of small farmers on railroad lands. Led by Bernhard Marks, who had planned the pioneer agricultural colonies of the Fresno area in the middle seventies, the bureau dispatched agents to Europe and states east of the Rocky Mountains and unleashed a barrage of promotional materials, much of which stressed the cooperative colony as the most powerful technique for overcoming the high costs of California agriculture, the requirements for specialized knowledge, and the social disadvantages of rural living. Within a few months, agents were directing farm families from the Middle West onto railroad and other lands. By early January, 1890, Dutch, French, and Spanish groups of up to fifty families each arrived in California bound for railroad land, some of which the company had already improved with houses, roads, and other facilities. In its annual review edition of 1890, the *Alta California* praised the agency as "one of the most important matters relating to the settlement of the State."⁶³

Final determination of the effect of the Southern Pacific's agricultural and land policies on the settlement of California after the 1880's awaits the opening up of more company papers and the completion of studies of regions penetrated by the

railroad. Enough evidence already exists, however, to suggest that, despite inconsistencies, the announced intentions of railway officials to foster compact settlement and agricultural change were more than empty rhetoric. A case in point is the land development program of the Capay Valley Land Company, a firm created by the Big Four and their families in 1887 to purchase and improve a nine-thousand-acre tract of fertile, but isolated, virtually uninhabited wheat and grazing land west of Woodland in the southern Sacramento Valley. Managed by William H. Mills, the company and the Southern Pacific cooperated to extend a branch railroad line into the tract, improve roads and bridges, construct irrigation facilities, and subdivide the tract into small farms, most of them ten to thirty acres in size. In order to call attention to the fruit-growing potential of the region, the company planted orchards and vineyards on its lands, required buyers to raise

*On a depot platform farmer
listened to a lecture on
dairying (right) and re-
viewed scientific exhibits
(below) in the five-to-ten-
car trains on subjects in-
cluding animal husbandry,
fertilizers, pest control,
irrigation, and home and
farm sanitation.*



fruit as a condition of purchase, offered bounties to other farmers in the valley for planting fruit trees, and advertised the horticultural resources of the area in newspapers and magazines across the state and nation. To promote dense settlement, the company founded several agricultural colonies, including the Tancred cooperative colony. In these centers, the railroad and the company built stations, warehouses, commercial buildings, and parks. By 1891, 1,700 acres of the company's land had been planted with nearly 140,000 fruit trees; others in the valley had set out 32,000 more; and several towns had sprouted along the rail line. The largest, Esparto, boasted a school, several churches, fraternal lodges, a farmers' alliance, a gas company, a growing business center, and a total of \$125,000 worth of buildings. Over the next few decades, the Land Company sold several hundred small farms. By the early twentieth century, largely because of the company's organizing power, the Capay Valley had been transformed into a leading deciduous fruit-growing region.⁶⁴

From the 1880's well into the twentieth century the Southern Pacific and its allied companies were aggressively engaged in the Capay Valley in subdividing large tracts of low-value real estate into small farms, introducing new specialty crops, and sponsoring compact settlement. Enough evidence exists to suggest that further local studies will expose similar company activities to promote social and economic development in many areas of California. In addition, other subsidiary land companies were subdividing and improving railroad lands in the northern Sacramento Valley, the Sonoma Valley, southern Alameda County, the Monterey Bay region, the coastal plain near Santa Barbara, and elsewhere.⁶⁵

Like the characters in *The Octopus*, critics of the Southern Pacific have generally emphasized the areas in which the railroad's drive to protect and expand its control over transportation collided with the equally vigorous exertions of economic and sectional interest groups to mold the railway to their desires. Upon closer examination, however, it is clear that despite these frequent clashes with the "public interest," in many areas the needs of the Southern Pacific paralleled those of other groups in the state. As longtime residents of California with career interests in many fields, railroad promoters resembled many other leaders in business, agriculture, journalism, and science in their diagnosis of California's ailments and their prescription for cure. Company officials especially stressed the creation of a new state economic base in an expanded and modernized agriculture. Accordingly, they wrote and lectured about the desirability, indeed the necessity, of managing California's water resources, expanding irrigation facilities, subdividing the state's large ranches and unused tracts into smaller farms, encouraging more compact settlement patterns, and converting from livestock and grains to fruit and specialty crops. Moreover, especially after the 1880's, the financial and organizational resources of the Southern Pacific were channelled into effective programs to achieve these goals. The railway collected and disseminated scientific information, assisted farm groups in organizing and developing their markets, exerted its considerable corporate muscle to wrest more agriculturally-oriented decisions from California's political system, and sponsored social and economic development upon its original grants, as well as lands it purchased specifically for that purpose. Norris' "terror of steel and steam," which left "blood and destruction in its path," was also a major force for agricultural expansion and change.

THE PHOTOGRAPHS on page 202 are from the California Historical Society collections. All the others are courtesy The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

NOTES

1. Frank Norris, *The Octopus* (New York, 1901), Book One, Chapter I. For an analysis of the railroad as a political issue see W. H. Hutchinson, "Prologue to Reform: The California Anti-Railroad Republicans, 1899-1905," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLIV (September, 1962), 175-218, and David B. Griffiths, "Anti-Monopoly Movements in California, 1873-1898," *Southern California Quarterly*, LII (June, 1970), 93-121. See also, James L. Brown, *The Mussel Slough Tragedy* (n.p., 1958).

2. Almost all standard works covering California history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries embody similar interpretations of the Southern Pacific's conflict with public interest. See: Andrew F. Rolle, *California: A History* (2nd ed.; New York, 1969), pp. 337-346, 358ff, 421-422, 430ff, 457ff; Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretative History* (New York, 1973), pp. 220ff, 298-311, and 320-325; Stuart Daggett, *Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific* (New York, 1922), passim; Royce D. Delmatier, et al., *The Rumble of California Politics, 1848-1970* (New York, 1970), 125ff, 134, 158. In his study, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley, 1951), George E. Mowry significantly entitled his first chapter "The Southern Pacific's California."

3. There are a few general histories which stand out for their greater attempt to deal with the Southern Pacific as an important development force. See especially Earl Pomeroy, *The Pacific Slope: A History of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, and Nevada* (New York, 1965), pp. 100ff, 175-176, and 335ff. Several other writers have also succeeded in putting the railroad into a less dominant and more realistic relationship with other forces shaping California society in the late nineteenth century. See especially: Ward M. McAfee, "Local Interests and Railroad Regulation in California During the Granger Decade," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXVII (February, 1968), 51-66; W. H. Hutchinson, "Southern Pacific: Myth and Reality," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVIII (December, 1969), 325-334; Gerald D. Nash, "The California Railroad Commission, 1876-1911," *Southern California Quarterly*, XLIV (December, 1962), 287-305; David Lavender's recent biography of Huntington, *The Great Persuader* (Garden City, New York) and Lloyd J. Mercer, "Land Grants to American Railroads: Social Cost or Social Benefit?" *Business History Review*, XLIII (Summer, 1969), 134-151.

4. Concerning the constant struggle from the late 1860's to the early 1880's by Huntington and other leaders to put their roads on a sound financial footing refer to: Collis P. Huntington-Mark Hopkins Correspondence, Manuscripts Division, Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries, Vols. 1-5, especially letters of August 23, September 28, and October 29, 1872, and February 15, March 3, and March 10, 1873; Lavender, *Great Persuader*, pp. 130, 181ff, 293ff, and 376-377; and Julius Grodinsky, *Transcontinental Railway Strategy, 1869-1893: A Study of Businessmen* (Philadelphia, 1962), pp. 16, 41ff, and 56ff.

5. Bureau of the Census of the U.S. Department of Commerce and the Social Science Research Council, *The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present* (Stamford, Connecticut, n.d.), pp. 12-13; Commonwealth Club of California, *The Population of California* (San Francisco, 1946), p. 21. California's economic problems during the late nineteenth century are outlined in Gerald D. Nash, *State Government and Economic Development: A History of Administrative Policies in California, 1849-1933* (Berkeley, 1964), pp. 1-224; Paul Wallace Gates (ed.), *California Ranchos and Farms* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1967); and Robert Glass Cleland and Osgood Hardy, *March of Industry* (San Francisco, 1929).

6. Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Central Pacific Railroad Company . . . 1881* (San Francisco, 1882), p. 40, and *Annual Report, 1883* (1884), p. 50; Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Report of the Southern Pacific Company . . . 1894* (San Francisco, 1895), pp. 87 and 122, and *Annual Report, 1896* (1897), pp. 7, 26, 29, and 58; E. A. Kincaid, "The Federal Land Grants of the Central Pacific Railroad" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, 1922), chapter XV; Walter A. McAllister, "A Study of Railroad Land-Grant Disposal in California with Reference to the Western Pacific, the Central Pacific, and the Southern Pacific Railroad Companies" (Ph D Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1939), pp. 109-110, 457, and 485

7. Ralph Kauer, "The Workingmen's Party of California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XIII (September, 1944), 278-291; Bean, *California*, pp. 219-243; Lavender, *Great Persuader*, pp. 320ff and 369ff; Donald E. Walters, "Populism in California, 1889-1900" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1952); Griffiths, "Anti-Monopoly Movements in California," 93-121.

8. The historical literature on the land-grant roads is voluminous. The first, and still valuable, works were James B. Hedges, *Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest* (New Haven, 1930); Paul Wallace Gates, *The Illinois Central Railroad and Its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934); and Richard Overton, *Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1941). More recent works include William S. Greever, *Arid Domain: The Santa Fe Railroad and Its Western Land Grant* (Stanford, 1954), and "A Comparison of Railroad Land Grant Policies," *Agricultural History*, XXV (April, 1951), 83-90. An entire issue of *Agricultural History*, was devoted to "The Role of Railroads in Agricultural Development" (XXI [October, 1957]). See also Wallace Farnham, "Railroads in Western History: The View from the Union Pacific," in Gene M. Gressley (ed.), *The American West: A Reorientation* (Vol. XXXII, University of Wyoming Publications, 1966), pp. 95-109. Another important study is Leslie E. Decker, *Railroads, Lands, and Politics: The Taxation of the Railroad Land Grants, 1865-1897* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1964). Rivalry between the Southern Pacific and other roads is discussed in L. L. Waters, *Steel Trails to Santa Fe* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1950), pp. 71-74 and 127-142; and Lewis B. Leslie, "A Southern Transcontinental Railroad into California: The Texas and Pacific Versus the Southern Pacific, 1865-1885," *Pacific Historical Review*, V (March, 1936), 52-60.

9. Biographical information concerning Redding can be found in *Alta California* (San Francisco), August 22, 1882, and Alonzo Phelps, *Contemporary Biography of California's Representative Men* (2 Vols., San Francisco, 1882), II, pp. 77-83.

10. Concerning the career of William H. Mills, refer to *San Francisco: Its Builders, Past and Present* (San Francisco, 1913), I, p. 343, and *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 25, 1907.

11. A biography of Jerome Madden was included in Phelps, *Contemporary Biography*, II, pp. 46-50. Hoag obituaries appeared in *The Record-Union* (Sacramento), April 24, 1898, *The Bee* (Sacramento), April 24, 1898, and *The Call* (San Francisco), April 24, 1898. Turrill's activities in the 1880's and 1890's are well documented in the Charles B. Turrill Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Horsburgh's career was reviewed by John P. Young, *Journalism in California* (San Francisco, 1915), p. 279.

12. Railroad officials shared development ideas which were virtually indistinguishable from many nineteenth-century California leaders, including those such as Henry George and Caspar T. Hopkins who opposed the Southern Pacific. See Richard J. Orsi, "Selling the Golden State: A Study of Boosterism in Nineteenth-Century California" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1973), Chapter I; Charles A. Barker, "Henry George and the California Background of Progress and Poverty," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXIV (June, 1945), 97-115; Caspar T. Hopkins, *Common Sense Applied to the Immigration Question* (San Francisco, 1869); Claude R. Petty, "John S. Hittell and the Gospel of California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXIV (February, 1955), 1-16; Gerald D. Nash, "Henry George Reexamined: William S. Chapman's Views on Land Speculation in Nineteenth Century California," *Agricultural History*, XXXIII (July, 1959), 133-137; and Nash, *State Government and Economic Development*, pp. 63-80 and 139-158.

13. Leland Stanford, "Opening Address of the Annual Fair of the State of California Agricultural Society, Sacramento, September 26, 1863," *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society During the Year 1863* (Sacramento, 1864), p. 49.

14. Redding wrote many essays on agricultural topics, published and republished throughout the state's press: "Sanitary Influences of Trees," *Resources of California* (San Francisco), February, 1882; "The Olive in Tulare County," *Pacific Rural Press* (San Francisco), July 10, 1880; "Influence of Irrigation on Citrus Trees," *Pacific Rural Press*, August 16, 1879; "Cost of Wheat Production," *Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), January 2, 1880; "Oranges and Olives," *Evening Bulletin*, January 30, 1880; "The Climate of California," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1878 (1879), pp. 129-134. Hoag, before joining the railroad, was agricultural editor of several leading newspapers, in addition to being secretary of the State Agricultural Society. His writings on behalf of agriculture

include: "Agricultural Review," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1874 (1875), pp. 245-252; "Orange Culture in California," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1879 (1880), pp. 132-138; "History of the State Agricultural Society of California," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1879 (1880), pp. 176-211. His travels and speeches made as immigration commissioner for the railroad were reported in the *Sacramento Record-Union*, May 9 and 19, and June 5, 9, and 23, 1883.

15. W. H. Mills, "Annual Address Delivered Before the State Agricultural Society of California . . . Sacramento, September 18, 1890," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society*, 1890 (1891), pp. 184-208. Mills's address was reprinted in the *Sacramento Record-Union*, September 19, 1890, and in other papers around the state. See also W. H. Mills, "Marketing of California Fruits," *Californian Illustrated Magazine*, II (October, 1892), 703-708.

16. Mills, "Annual Address," *passim*, and "Marketing of California Fruits," *passim*. See also W. H. Mills and Edwin K. Alsip, *Report on the Columbus, Ohio, Exhibit* (San Francisco, 1888), pp. 8-9. In many of his reports as land agent of the Central Pacific, Mills linked progress for California and the railroad to the development of specialized agriculture: Central Pacific Railroad, *Annual Report*, 1882 (1883), pp. 60-64, and *Annual Report*, 1887 (1888), pp. 72-73. See also Mills's address before the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce in Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, *An Account of the First Annual Banquet of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce* (Los Angeles, 1893), pp. 46-47. Mills's newspaper, the *Sacramento Record Union*, remained an ardent promoter of horticulture and specialized farming from 1875, when Mills gained control, through the rest of the century. This policy was stated in an editorial on February 22, 1875. See also the January 1, 1876 issue, devoted to the theme of agriculture as a basis for further state development.

17. Lavender, *Great Persuader*, pp. 363 and 426.

18. Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Report*, 1892 (1893), pp. 26-27, *Annual Report*, 1894 (1895), p. 33, and *Annual Report*, 1896 (1897), p. 28.

19. James Horsburgh, Jr., "Colonization Efforts," in California Development Board, Counties Committee, *Bulletin Number Nine* (January, 1911), p. 17.

20. *Record-Union*, January 1 and 3, and March 4, 22, and 23, 1876, February 22, March 9, July 31, and August 3, 7, and 28, 1878, many issues in October, November, and December, 1881, and January 15, 1883. The crucial role played by Mills in publicizing the problem and helping to organize the valley's farmers is reviewed by Robert L. Kelley, *Gold vs. Grain: The Hydraulic Mining Controversy in California's Sacramento Valley, A Chapter in the Decline of the Concept of Laissez Faire* (Glendale, California, 1959), pp. 75-129, 145, 174, and 216. Especially in his editorial of July 31, 1878, Mills charged that, since agriculture had become the dominant interest, the state's laws ought to be changed to protect farmers. Defenders of mining corporations repeatedly attacked the *Record-Union's* stand. See *Alta California*, August 2, 1878, and *Nevada City Transcript*, August 6 and 7, 1878. At one time, a group of Sacramento businessmen, worried about the possibility of retaliatory boycotts by mining regions, dispatched a committee to plead with Mills to cease his criticism of hydraulic mining pollution. The incident is described in Kelley, *Gold vs. Grain*, pp. 123ff. In addition to support for the anti-debris movement which came from the Southern Pacific's newspaper, Kelley suggests that the railroad also maneuvered behind the scenes to bring about legal decisions beneficial to farmers by judges who were "controlled" by the company.

It may be assumed that the editorial policy of the *Record-Union* was shaped directly by the railroad from 1875 to the early 1900's. The Big Four established Mills as editor of the *Sacramento Record* in the early 1870's and co-owned the *Record-Union* with him after 1875, largely through grants from the Pacific Improvement Company, their construction and land development subsidiary. See Huntington-Hopkins Correspondence (March 16, 1872, August 22, 1873, February 25, and March 18, 1875, and April 10 and 26, 1876); Huntington to David P. Colton, April 27, 1876, published as part of the "Cylton Letters," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 17, 1883; Pacific Improvement Company, "Index to Minutes, 1878-1904," Pacific Improvement Records, Folio 78, Vol. 6, Graduate School of Business, Jackson Library, Stanford University; Sacramento Publishing Company, "Minutes," pp. 48-49, filed in Pacific Improvement Company Records, container 467. After his appointment as land agent for the Southern Pacific in early 1883, Mills moved to San Francisco but retained management and control of the editorial policy of the paper. When he wrote to Governor Pardee in 1902 objecting to the planned state display in St. Louis, Mills enclosed a clipping from the newspaper with the comment that "the editorial expressions

of the 'Record-Union' have my full approval." See Mills to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, December 29, 1902, Pardee Correspondence, Bancroft Library, and *The Call* (San Francisco), November 22, 1895.

21. The *Record-Union*, on April 1, 1875, published a list of all Granges in the state with their addresses, so that they could better communicate with one another; see also February 22, 1875 issue. Efforts to save the Grangers' Immigration Bureau were reviewed in *Alta California*, April 19, 1875. For later promotion of cooperative farm organizations see *Record-Union*, August 30 and September 5, 1888, which support the California Fruit Union, an early deciduous fruit cooperative, and *Sunset*, IV (April, 1900), 246, and XIV (November, 1904), 90, instances in which this passenger department journal urged farmers to forget their local rivalries and form state or region-wide organizations for more effective control of markets.

22. Mills, "Marketing of California Fruits," pp. 703-708; Mills and Alsip, *Report on Columbus Exhibit*, pp. 8-9.

23. Orsi, "Selling the Golden State," Chapter IV.

24. See *Record-Union*, June 8, 1892, for an account of the new railroad fast freight service for deciduous fruit; Rufus Steele, "What Pre-Cooling Means," *Sunset*, XXIV (March, 1910), 330-343, described a giant pre-cooling plant constructed by the Southern Pacific near Sacramento. Information concerning the Sunkist campaign is contained in Josephine Kingsbury Jacobs, "Sunkist Advertising" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966), and Rayno M. McCurdy, *History of California Fruit Growers' Exchange* (Los Angeles, 1925), pp. 59-61. See also "California Raisins, Their Day," *Sunset*, XXII (May, 1909), p. 550; and *Pacific Rural Press*, March 20, 1909.

25. *Sunset*, II (February, 1899), 74-75, and (April, 1899), 136, VI (March, 1901), 164-168, and (April, 1901), 209-215, VII (June-July, 1901), 81, XV (June, 1905), 190-200, and XXI (July, 1908), 280-281; Southern Pacific Company, *Eat California Fruit* (San Francisco, 1904), republished in 1908, *California Prune Primer* (San Francisco, 1901), *California Big Tree Primer* (San Francisco, 1901), and *California for the Settler Primer* (San Francisco, 1903).

26. John Lorning (Assistant General Superintendent, Central Pacific Railroad) to George Davidson (United States Coast Survey), San Francisco, March 9 and 15, 1872; S. S. Montague (Chief Engineer, Central Pacific Railroad) to George Davidson, San Francisco, August 12, 1872, January 29, 1873, January 23, 1874, December 30, 1878, and January 16, 1879; B. B. Redding to George Davidson, San Francisco, November 13 and 15, 1877, and November 14, 1879, Davidson Collection, Bancroft Library. University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, *Report . . . 1895-1897* (Sacramento, 1898), p. 414; "A Railway Weather Bureau and Its Value to the Public," *Sunset*, I (June, 1898), 35.

27. Redding to George Davidson, November 13 and 15, 1877, Davidson Collection.

28. B. B. Redding, "The Climate of California," *Transactions of the Agricultural Society, 1877* (1878), pp. 123-140; this essay was often reprinted, for example in *California Patron* (Grange), February 6, 1878, *Pacific Rural Press*, January 26, 1878, and *Resources of California*, January and February, 1887, and December, 1888.

29. University of California, College of Agriculture, *Report . . . 1880* (Sacramento, 1881), pp. 5 and 8-10; B. B. Redding to E. W. Hilgard, San Francisco, March 22, 1880, and February 10, 1881, Hilgard Collection, Bancroft Library.

30. James Horsburgh to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, March 13, 1905; James Wilson to Horsburgh, Washington, D.C., March 27, 1905, copy filed with above letter; Horsburgh to Pardee, San Francisco, March 28, and April 4, 1905, Pardee Correspondence.

31. Telegrams, Horsburgh to Pardee, San Francisco, November 13 and 17, 1905, Pardee Correspondence; E. J. Wickson (Dean of the College of Agriculture, University of California), "An Irrigation Pilgrimage," *Sunset*, XV (October, 1905), 530-537.

32. See the following *Sunset* articles: Charles H. Shinn, "Experimental Agriculture in California: The University of California Stations, United States Department of Agriculture," VIII (November, 1901), 15-19; H. Morse Stephens, "University Extension in California," X (March, 1903), 439-446; Leroy Anderson, "What Modern Farming Means," *ibid.*, 456-458; Edward Hughes, "Farming in the Schools," XVI (April, 1906), 589-591; J. Parker Whitney, "Educational Orange Growing," XVII (August, 1906), 161-170; "Oranges and Iron Fingers: The Time-Honored Custom of Wrapping Fruit by Hand Revolutionized by a Mechanical Invention,"

XXIV (January, 1910), 113-114; and Agnes C. Laut, "Save the Citrus Groves," XXX (April, 1913), 325-334. The magazine included articles promoting agriculture in almost every issue from 1899 to 1915.

33. E. J. Wickson to James Horsburgh, Berkeley, July 16, 1906 and November 12, 1907, Papers of the President of the University of California, University of California Archives, Bancroft Library; H. A. Jones (Freight Traffic Manager, Southern Pacific Company) to Ralph P. Merritt (Secretary to the President, University of California), October 6, 1909, John Campbell Meriam Correspondence and Papers, Bancroft Library; Thomas H. Hunt to W. M. Merz, Berkeley, January 18, 1916, College of Agriculture, Correspondence and Papers, Box 12, University of California Archives; University of California, College of Agriculture, Agricultural Experiment Station, *Report . . . 1898-1901* (1902), pp. 30 and 181, and *Report . . . 1903-1904* (1904), 85; *The University of California Chronicle*, XV (April, 1913), 307.

34. *The University of California Chronicle*, XI (April, 1909), 186-187, XIV (January, 1912), III, and XV (April, 1913), 292; *Pacific Rural Press*, October 24, 1908, March 27, 1909, and January 14, 1911; Warren T. Clarke, "Sending the College to the Farmer—How the Demonstration Train Delivers Knowledge in Car-Load Lots," *Sunset*, XXX (April, 1913), 383-389; Horsburgh, "Colonization Efforts," pp. 18-20.

35. *Record-Union*, January 3 and March 4, 1876; Mills, "Annual Address," pp. 201ff; William H. Mills, *The Hydrography of the Sacramento Valley* (San Francisco, 1904); *The Call*, June 6 and July 4, 1904; Mills to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, February 3, 1903, Pardee Correspondence.

36. California State Board of Trade, *Reclamation of Arid Lands by Irrigation: Report of the Committee on Arid Lands of the California State Board of Trade* (San Francisco, 1889). *The Call*, April 12, 1899, reported a speech Mills gave to the Board of Trade concerning the benefits, in the form of smaller farms, horticultural development, and agricultural diversity, to be gained from irrigation.

37. As delegates from California, Mills addressed the International Irrigation Congress of 1891, convened in Salt Lake City, with a plea for public finance and control of irrigation water and for strict limitation of the amount of land which could be irrigated with public water. The speech was widely reported in the California press. See *Evening Bulletin*, September 23, 1891, and *Record-Union*, September 24, 1891. See also *Record-Union*, September 18, 19, and 21, 1891; Mills to Pardee, San Francisco, October 5, 1904, Pardee Correspondence; and Paul S. Taylor, "Water Land, and People in the Great Valley," *The American West*, V (March, 1968), 29.

38. *Record-Union*, August 26, 1882, January 1 and 15, 1883. During an address he gave to the Water and Forest Association of California, Mills presented statistics to show that, unless commercial lumbering in California were limited, destruction of watersheds would lead to a shrinkage of available irrigation water and, since the state depended on agriculture, to possible future depressions. Indeed, Mills claimed, California not only had to save the remaining forests but to plant new ones as well (*The Call*, December 15, 1900).

39. Mills to Robert Underwood Johnson, San Francisco, June 30 and August 2, 1889, Johnson Correspondence, Bancroft Library; Mills to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, December 14 and 15, 1904, Pardee Correspondence; *The Call*, December 14, 1904, and January 20 and 23, 1905. In a January 23, 1905, editorial, *The Call* referred to Mills as one of the originators of the movement to convert all of Yosemite into a national park. See also Theodore A. Goppert, "The Yosemite Valley Commission, The Development of Park Management Policies, 1864-1905" (M.A. Thesis, California State University, Hayward, 1972), pp. 31-63 and 77-82; and Holway Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite* (San Francisco, 1965), pp. 35, 41, and 67-68. Jones's book is a good example of limitations placed on historians by the traditional framework for understanding the Southern Pacific. When faced with evidence that Mills had supported the conservationist position in the recession controversy, Jones was at a loss to interpret it. Instead of searching for more evidence concerning Mills's goals, he reverted to the usual explanation of the Southern Pacific's actions, its devious need to manipulate the public. According to Jones, the railroad was working through Mills "behind the scenes," for unspecified reasons, "to seek advantage for itself." Rather, Mills's actions on behalf of Yosemite were more likely a logical outgrowth of a long conservationist career dating back to the 1870's and of the broader program of the Southern Pacific to develop the water, forest, and recreational resources of California. Mills, moreover, did not operate "behind the scenes," which implies the secrecy commonly associated with "the octopus." Widely known to be the land agent of the Southern Pacific and one of its

major spokesmen, especially in press and publicity matters, Mills openly wrote letters to and was interviewed by leading newspapers; as chairman of the Board of Trade's committee for recession, he also contacted every commercial organization in the state.

Oscar Berland, in "Giant Forest's Reservation: The Legend and the Mystery," *Sierra Club Bulletin* (December, 1962), 68-82, maintained that pressure from the Southern Pacific also caused the enlargement of Sequoia National Park when it was created by Congress in 1890.

40. Mills to George C. Pardee, San Francisco, December 29, 1902, March 2 and 7, June 25 and 29, 1903, and January 6, 1906, Pardee Correspondence; Josephine C. McCrackin, "How the 'Big Basin' Redwoods Were Saved," *Overland Monthly*, XL (October, 1912), 38ff.

41. B. B. Redding, "Influence of Irrigation on Citrus Trees," *Pacific Rural Press*, August 16, 1879; I. N. Hoag, letters to the *Record-Union*, published on May 9 and 19 and June 9, 1883, April 4, 1885, and June 5, 1886; Collis P. Huntington, "Annual Report of the President," in Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Report, 1892* (1893), pp. 26-27; Jerome Madden, *California: Its Attractions for the Invalid, Tourist, Capitalist, and Homeseeker* (San Francisco, 1890), pp. 22ff. Redding was also a member of the State Fisheries Commission in the 1870's and contributed many scientific writings on zoology, ornithology, forestry, and botany. See Redding to R.W. Waterman, San Francisco, October 22, 1876, and January 3, April 28, November 17, and December 22, 1879 (letters concerning the introduction of many new plants and fish into Southern California), Waterman Family Papers, Bancroft Library. An extensive bibliography of Redding's writings on California natural history appears in California Academy of Sciences, *In Memoriam: Benjamin B. Redding, Born January 17th, 1824, Died August 21st, 1882* (n.p., n.d.).

42. Promoting irrigation and conservation was one of *Sunset's* favorite activities. Among many articles were these: E. T. Perkins (U.S. Reclamation Service engineer), "Redeeming the West: Present Status of Government Irrigation Projects . . .," XVI (November, 1905), 3-25; C. J. Blanchard (U.S. Reclamation Service), "Redeeming the West—the Klamath Project," XVII (September, 1906), 207-214, and "Uncle Sam's New Farm," XIX (September, 1907), 487-492; G. K. Swingle, "Chaining the Sacramento," XVII (October, 1906), 453-455; and "Redeeming the Arid West—Some Results of the Recent National Irrigation Congress at El Paso," XIV (February, 1905), a large section of the magazine containing articles promoting irrigation development in California by Alexander McAdie, of the United States Weather Bureau, E. A. Sterling, of the United States Bureau of Forestry, and Governor George C. Pardee. *Sunset's* policies in favor of irrigation as the basis of development in California were outlined in an editorial which appeared in the January, 1905, issue (p. 308). See also H. T. Payne, "Game Birds of the Pacific," XXII (January, 1909), 65-73; Sumner W. Matteson, "Saving the Buffalo," XXI (October, 1908), 498-503; George H. Maxwell, "Save the Forests and Store the Floods," IX (May, 1902), 42-43; E. A. Sterling, "The Use of Forest Preserves," XIX (May, 1907), 10-17.

43. Robert G. Schonfeld, "The Early Development of California's Imperial Valley," *Southern California Quarterly*, L (September, 1968), 279-307, and (December, 1968), 395-426; A. J. Wells, "Capturing the Colorado," *Sunset*, XVIII (March, 1907), 391-404.

44. Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Lands of the Central Pacific Railroad of California* (Sacramento, 1868), pp. 14-15. Identical wording was used in land pamphlets issued by the Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific Railroads throughout the 1870's and 1880's and in the annual reports of the land agents.

45. Collis P. Huntington to Mark Hopkins, New York, February 19, 1874, Huntington-Hopkins Correspondence. When some farmers from Kern County applied to Isaac Gates, a railroad official, to purchase some railroad land, Huntington advised: "I consider it important to us to have those lands settled up and I think it would be well for Mr. Gates to sell" (Huntington to Hopkins, New York, October 22, 1873, Huntington-Hopkins Correspondence).

46. Huntington to Hopkins, Washington, D.C., April 10, 1876, Huntington-Hopkins Correspondence; William H. Mills to James G. Fair (U.S. Senator from Nevada), San Francisco, January 2, 1884, published in *Evening Bulletin*, February 14, 1884; Mills to San Francisco Board of Trade, San Francisco, February 4, 1884, published in *San Francisco Merchant*, February 15, 1884; United States Pacific Railway Commission, *Testimony Taken By the United States Pacific Railway Commission* (8 Vols., Washington, 1887), V, p. 2413.

47. *The Call*, February 16, 1884; *Bee*, January 19, February 1, 13, and 16, 1884; *Marysville Appeal*, January 24 and 31, 1884; *Colusa Sun*, February 9, 1884; *Daily Sentinel* (Red Bluff), February 4 and 5, 1884; *Record-Union*, February 20, 21, 23, 26, and 27, and March 12, 1884.

48. B. B. Redding, "Immigration and How to Promote It," *The Californian*, V (January, 1882), 60; Orsi, "Selling the Golden State," Chapter I.

49. See Mills's first report as land agent, Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report*, 1882 (1883), pp. 60-64, his introduction to California State Board of Trade, *California: Early History, Commercial Position, Climate, Scenery, Forests, General Resources . . .* (San Francisco, 1897-1898), pp. 4-5, his pamphlet, *The American Question* (San Francisco, c.1886), pp. 8ff, and his "Annual Address," to the Agricultural Society in 1890; Horsburgh, "Colonization Efforts," p. 17.

50. Barker, "Henry George and the California Background," 98-99.

51. William H. Mills, *California Land Holdings* (San Francisco, 1892). See also *Record-Union*, April 14, 1892, and *Oakland Times*, April 8, 1892. Mills's other attacks on land monopoly were *The American Question*, passim; W. H. Mills to *The San Francisco Call*, San Francisco, published in *The Call*, January 13, 1896; "California Agricultural Lands," *The Call*, December 19, 1897; and "What Land Grants Did to California," *The Call*, July 9, 1905. Under Mills's management, the *Record-Union* persistently attacked land monopolists for driving people, particularly the young, from the rural districts of the state. See especially the editorials of February 22, 1875, and October 3, 1891.

52. Charles Nordhoff, "California III—Its Products and Productiveness," *Harper's*, XIV (July, 1872), 255-267; Southern Pacific Railroad, *Lands of the Southern Pacific Railroad* (1880), pp. 101-102 and 112ff; Pacific Coast Land Bureau, *California Guide Book: Lands of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific Railroad Companies* (San Francisco, c.1882), passim; Bernhard Marks, *Small-Scale Farming in California: The Colonization System of the Great Valley of the San Joaquin in Central California* (San Francisco, c.1890), passim; *Record-Union*, February 27, 1875, July 13 and 14, 1887, and August 23, 1888. *Sunset* also promoted agricultural colonies and small farms. See especially A. J. Wells, "The Romance of the Fresno Ranch: An Old Time Principality Being Broken up for Colonization," XXII (May, 1909), 557-559, and "Slicing the Great Ranchos," XXIII (August, 1909), 219-221; "Carmichael Colony in the Heart of California," XXVI (May, 1911), 576-577, and other articles in this issue.

53. There are several seldomly noticed older studies which touch on some aspects of the Southern Pacific's land development activities with greater or lesser success. Although fragmentary and limited to one region, Edna Monch Parker's "The Southern Pacific Railroad and Settlement in Southern California," *Pacific Historical Review*, VI (June, 1937), 103-119, provides some insights. Several other authors have amassed most of the statistical data on size, price, and sales of the land grants. None of them, however, presents a systematic analysis of the railroad's development program. See John Froberg, "The Land Grant to the Southern Pacific Railroad" (Typed MS, 1916, deposited at the Bancroft Library), Kincaid, "Land Grants of the Central Pacific Railroad," McAllister, "Railroad Land-Grant Disposal in California," and Thelma Kesseli, "The Railroad as an Agency of Settlement in California, 1870-1890" (M.A. Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1948). Since he examined county land records to identify the purchasers of railroad lands and the size of their purchases, McAllister has performed particularly valuable services. See also, Orsi, "Selling the Golden State," Chapters IV-V.

54. *San Francisco Post*, July 11, 1878; *Alta California*, October 5, 1881; Grodinsky, *Transcontinental Railway Strategy*, pp. 16ff, 41ff, and 56ff; Lavender, *Great Persuader*, pp. 130, 181ff, 293ff, and 376-377; McAllister, "Land Grant Disposal in California," pp. 307-355; and Decker, *Railroads, Lands, and Politics*, passim.

55. Details of the Southern Pacific's new promotional plan were released to the California press in May and June of 1883. See *Evening Bulletin*, May 21 and 24, 1883; *Alta California*, May 22, 1883; *Record-Union*, May 9, 17, 19, and 31, and June 9 and 23, 1883, and March 19 and 25, 1884.

56. For a sample of railroad promotional literature, refer to California Immigration Commissioner, Chicago, Illinois, *California: The Cornucopia of the World* (Chicago, 1883 and 1886); Southern Pacific Company, *Southern Pacific Sketch Book* (San Francisco, 1890), and *California for Health, Pleasure and Profit: Why You Should Go There* (San Francisco, 1894). The most significant railroad agricultural displays were at the New Orleans expositions of 1884 through 1886, California's first great propaganda victory which many contemporaries viewed as the spark igniting the "boom of the eighties." See the scrapbooks in the Charles B. Turrill Papers, Bancroft Library, and Charles B. Turrill, *Catalogue of the Product of California Exhibited by the Southern Pacific at the North, Central, and South American Exposition, New Orleans, November 10th, 1885, to April 1st, 1886* (New Orleans, 1886). Southern Pacific subsidies for the Immigration Association of California

(San Francisco) during the 1880's were reported by *Alta California*, October 28, 1881, and *Evening Bulletin*, December 2, 1884, December 1, 1885, and December 7, 1886. From 1887 to 1896, the railroad's grants to the California State Board of Trade (San Francisco) totalled more than \$50,000. See Norton P. Chipman, *Annual Report of General N. P. Chipman, President, California State Board of Trade* (San Francisco, 1896), pp. 7-8. Reviews of later railroad booster programs were published in the special New Year editions of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 1, 1904, and January 1, 1905. See also, Orsi, "Selling the Golden State," Chapters IV-V.

57. *Daily Union* (Sacramento), August 16, 1867; Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report, 1872* (1873), pp. 39-40, *Annual Report, 1881* (1882), pp. 50-51; Southern Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report, 1876 and 1877* (San Francisco, 1877), pp. 49-64, *Annual Report, 1881* (1882), pp. 45-51; and Kincaid, "Land Grants of the Central Pacific," appendix.

58. Kincaid, "Land Grants of the Central Pacific," passim; McAllister, "Land Grant Disposal in California," passim. By the mid-1880's, the Southern Pacific was the leading booster of California. Advertising and printing expenses of the company increased from \$150,000 in 1888 to \$400,000 in 1900 and \$1,800,000 in 1911. See Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Reports, 1888 to 1911*.

The company also pressed for the sale of public land in California to actual settlers. Railway officials supported the California Immigrant Union's efforts to get the federal government to withdraw all public agricultural land in California from sale except to persons willing to farm it immediately (*Alta California*, December 21, 1869). Redding also maintained that the key to economic and social progress was the settlement of the public lands by small farmers (Redding, "Immigration," passim). The railroad annually donated several thousand dollars from 1881 to 1887 to the Immigration Association of California, whose primary purpose was to promote settlement of the state's remaining government lands. The company also published an exhaustive pamphlet describing in detail, by township and section, the vacant public and railroad lands in California; see Southern Pacific Company, *A List of Government and Railroad Lands in California Open to Preemption, or Homestead or to Purchase Along the Lines of the Central Pacific, and the California and Oregon Railroads* (n.p., 1886).

59. McAllister, "Land Grant Disposal in California," pp. 253ff and 285ff.

60. California Immigrant Union, *All About California and the Inducements to Settle There* (San Francisco, 1870), p. 14; *Alta California*, April 23, 1875; Pacific Coast Land Bureau, *California Guide Book*; Central Pacific Railroad Company, *Annual Report, 1877* (1878), pp. 47-50, and *Annual Report, 1878* (1879), pp. 53-56.

61. *Evening Bulletin*, July 21, 1884; *Record-Union*, July 22, 1884.

62. Charles F. Crocker to William Hammond Hall, San Francisco, January 22, 1891, William Hammond Hall Collection, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

63. Marks, *Small-Scale Farming*; *Alta California*, November 21 and December 19, 1889, and January 1, 1890; *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 7, 1890; *Resources of California* (San Francisco), December, 1889. The Colonization Agency lasted only until 1893, when it was disbanded, probably because of the depression which threatened California land projects from 1893 until nearly 1900.

64. Records of the Capay Valley Land Company are filed with the Pacific Improvement Company Records, containers 278-294. See especially Capay Valley Land Company, "Cash Book, 1887-1897," container 293, "Minutes, 1887-1920," container 280, and "By-Laws" (June 1, 1887), container 278. See also *Record-Union*, April 30 and June 14, 1888, November 17, 1889, and September 21, 1891; *Daily Mail* (Woodland), January 15, 1890, and February 28, 1891; *Alta California*, January 1, 1890; Southern Pacific Company, *Annual Report, 1891* (1892), p. 27; Western Co-Operative Colonization and Improvement Company, *History and Description of the Tauced Colony* (n.p., n.d.); Rounseville Wildman, *The Capay Valley: A Descriptive Account of the Earliest Fruit Lands in the State* (San Francisco, 1895); Tom Gregory, *History of Yolo County, California* (Los Angeles, 1913), pp. 54ff and 108ff; William O. Russell (ed.), *History of Yolo County, California* (Woodland, California, 1940), pp. 227ff.

65. Most of the land firms were subsidiaries of the Pacific Improvement Company. See: Sonoma Valley Improvement Company, "Journals and Ledgers, 1890-1913," Pacific Improvement Company Records, containers 48-53; see also container 25a, folder 191g; *Record-Union*, September 21, 1891.

Insurgents on the Baja Peninsula: Henry Halleck's Journal of the War in Lower California, 1847-1848

JOHN D. YATES

*Businessman and author of a number of articles on California history
including a review of the actions of the United States Pacific Squadron. He has been working
on a biography of Henry Wager Halleck since 1971.*

PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK'S SIGNING of the declaration of war against Mexico in May, 1846, proved to be a culmination to years of talk and secret negotiations regarding the eventual United States' acquisition of Alta California from Mexico. Concern about potential British conquest of the Mexican territory and a pervasive national sense that it was the United States' manifest destiny to control the American continent from ocean to ocean suggested that acquisition by peaceful or aggressive means was merely a matter of time.

While the causes of the Mexican War related largely to Texas, Polk's ambition to add California and other southwestern territories to the national domain continued unabated after his failure to purchase the area and after his efforts at peaceful persuasion through his confidential negotiations with Thomas O. Larkin, sympathetic American consul at Monterey, were preempted by the Bear Flag Revolt. Several months before the outbreak, Polk's Secretary of the Navy Bancroft had secretly instructed Commodore John D. Sloat of the Pacific Squadron that in the event of war with Mexico, he was to occupy such ports in California as he considered necessary for the establishment of American authority in the province.

In the 1840's the most active commercial deep-sea port on the west coast of North America was Mazatlán. In addition to its commercial value, it served as a major revictualing base for the navies of the great maritime nations. All of the countries maintained naval agents there, and the port was homebase for the operations of their Pacific squadrons. Its only rival was Callao, Peru, to the south.

It is no wonder that any strategic move against Mexico by the United States would include some operation against such a large and active port. Both Secretary of the Navy Bancroft and Secretary of War Marcy ranked operations against Mazatlán as top priority in the event of war against Mexico even ahead of the plan to annex Alta California. The Alta California plan won out because the remoteness of this province from the Mexican heartland, the inability of its demoralized and reduced garrison to defend itself, its favor with settlers from the United States, and because of the pro-United States feelings of some of its prominent citizens.



In June, 1846, Commodore Sloat received a dispatch from Secretary Bancroft advising him of the outbreak of war between Mexico and the United States and instructing him to implement the plan to annex Alta California. Another dispatch, dated May 15, arrived two days later in Mazatlán ordering him to "take possession of Mazatlán and of Monterey, one or both," and with the added suggestion that Guaymas be seized as well. Sloat sailed north, and in early July, after some delay, he raised the American flag over Monterey.

In ill health Sloat resigned his command to Commodore Robert F. Stockton, and on August 13 the more inflammatory Stockton entered Los Angeles, proclaiming on the seventeenth that "California is entirely free from Mexican dominion." Meanwhile, Navy secretary Bancroft wrote Stockton on August 15, ordering him to capture Guaymas on the Gulf of California, and he empowered the commander of the Pacific Squadron to make agreements temporarily neutralizing any Mexican province that was willing to revolt against Mexico and to grant American vessels free access to its ports. Baja California was rumored to be contemplating a revolt against Mexico, and this general order was calculated to allow the commander to annex that province at the most propitious time.

On August 19 Stockton proclaimed a blockade against Mexican ports; it was, however, only a "paper" blockade, since he lacked adequate power to enforce it. Stockton then announced plans to capture Acapulco as a base for land operations against Mexico City, and he went as far as directing John Charles Frémont to recruit 700 men for the California battalion for that operation. Stockton, however, had his hands full in consolidating his hold on the territory of California where the tone of his proclamation and the presumptuousness of Frémont incited several military engagements, notably at Chino Rancho and Cahuenga Pass. The meager force of three ships that he sent to the gulf during September and October to enforce the blockade were pulled back in November, 1846, because of the insurgents' resistance in the southern part of his territory. When this spirited action in Alta California concluded in January, 1847, American attention in the Far West was again directed to the Baja peninsula.

Two weeks after the Cahuenga Capitulation ended the Californios' revolt, Lieutenant Henry Wager Halleck, United States Engineers, arrived in Monterey on January 26, 1847, aboard U.S. Storeship *Lexington*. A converted sloop, the vessel carried the officers and men of Company F, Third Artillery, a train of artillery, powder, and ammunition, and a great variety of engineering supplies. Two of the artillery officers, Lieutenant Edward O. C. Ord and Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman, were Halleck's friends from West Point days. After a 198-day voyage from New York and a grueling thirty days doubling Cape Horn, the company landed at Monterey in good order, and, according to Sherman's memoirs, "Every man was able to leave the ship and march up the hill to the forts with his own knapsack and equipment." The artillerymen relieved Lieutenant Maddox and his Marine garrison and went into "canvas" on the hill near Fort Mervine. Halleck went about his engineering duties with customary thoroughness, and he designed a new redoubt to secure the approaches to Monterey by sea and land, inspected San Francisco Bay and its entrance, and made recommendations for coastal defense. Ord and Sherman and other artillery officers took up the monotonous routine of regimental duties.

Hence, rather inauspiciously, began Halleck's remarkable public career, one that saw him in the next seven years—while still a regular army officer—serve as secretary of state of the Territory of California, joint author of the California constitution, partner in the law firm of Halleck, Peachy & Billings, and director-administrator of New Almaden, the largest quicksilver mine in the western hemisphere. In 1853 he resigned from the army with the substantive rank of captain to take care of his burgeoning law practice. He rejoined in 1861 as one of the four permanent major-generals of the Regular Union army, having served for one year as major-general of the Second Division of the California Militia. (Another of the four major-generals was John Charles Frémont whom Halleck would succeed as general commander of the Department of the Missouri.) Promoted to general-in-chief of the armies of the United States in 1862 as a result of his strong administrative skills and strategic brilliance in attacks on the River Forts, Halleck found Washington, D.C. a "political hell," but as chief-of-staff he survived the maneuverings of political generals and draft riots, and he eventually produced for Grant and Sherman a superb professional army out of a rabble of ill-disciplined draftees.

Halleck's memoir of the Baja campaign, his first important military experience, was discovered at the time of Halleck's death in 1872 by Colonel George W. Granniss, the administrator of Halleck's estate and agent for the general's heirs (Halleck married the granddaughter of Alexander Hamilton) in the basement of the Montgomery Block—the famous but recently demolished San Francisco landmark building which was designed, promoted, and owned by Halleck. His law firm, Halleck, Peachy & Billings, occupied a large suite of offices on the third floor of the building from 1853 to 1864.

Today, the manuscript memoir which has never before been published and rarely used is in Halleck's law firm's papers at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. It is inscribed in pencil and ink on the blue, lined paper of the period; some portions are indecipherable due to stains, poor writing surfaces, and a penmanship compromised by haste. Regrettably, Halleck never finished the record of his Baja experiences, but he left notes to himself in parentheses for future reference. Ironically, though the scholarly or "bookish" Halleck published a number of respected and esoteric works on international law, mining, military strategy, and a translation of Henri Jomini's massive *Life of Napoleon*, he never concluded his personal memoir.

Following is an introduction and an edited version of Halleck's Baja California journal and an accompanying narrative which fills in gaps left by Halleck himself and the abridgment of the journal necessary for publication in the *Quarterly*. Halleck sets the stage in each sequence and discusses, in addition to military maneuvers, local conditions and personalities. He combines a military journal with a travelogue and chronicle of his personal experiences and provides a detailed first-hand account of the nature of a military man's experiences in a war against native insurgents and guerrillas. Light-hearted touches, an eye for women, and a lively sense of humor belie the public sense of a somber, unfriendly, and reserved man of little social grace.

Shortly after Lieutenant Halleck's arrival in California in January, 1847, Commodore Stockton again tried to enforce the blockade against Mexican

ports by sending Commander John B. Montgomery on the U.S.S. *Portsmouth* to the gulf to raise the flag at San Lucas at the southern tip of the peninsula and at La Paz on the east coast, but San José, north of San Lucas, refused to surrender. At La Paz, Articles of Capitulation were drawn up (similar to those of the Treaty of Cahuenga) granting Baja Californians the same rights as United States citizens and allowing officials to stay in office. Baja's governor, Colonel Miranda, a collaborationist, signed the document on April 13, 1847. Again, however, these efforts proved abortive, for Montgomery was unable to leave a garrison of men, and upon his departure American presence evaporated in the gulf.

Meanwhile, Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny had replaced Stockton and, in turn, been replaced as military commander and governor of the Territory of California by Colonel Richard B. Mason of the First Dragoons who assumed the command of the Tenth Military Department and the governorship on May 30, 1847. Just before he handed over his command to Mason, however, Kearny had received a dispatch from Secretary of War Marcy, dated January 11, 1847, with orders to occupy a port and hoist the flag in Baja California, and "actual possession taken and continuously held, or some place or places within it, and our civil administration there asserted and upheld." It was left to Mason to implement these directions, which he did by ordering Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Henry S. Burton (a lieutenant of the Third Artillery and a classmate of Halleck at West Point) of the First Regiment of New York Volunteers and two companies of the regiment stationed at Santa Barbara to embark on the U.S.S. *Lexington* for La Paz on the eastern shore of the peninsula.

Accordingly, Burton and his men arrived in the Bay of La Paz on July 21, 1847, and occupied the town which was to remain the base of all operations in the peninsula. Across the Gulf of California, successive commanders of the Pacific Squadron had tried unsuccessfully to enforce a permanent blockade of Mexican ports with one frigate and one sloop, more or less. Commodore William Branford Shubrick, who had taken over the command of the squadron in January, 1847, on behalf of his senior, James Biddle, and to permanent command in July, was determined to support a blockade in force; in September, 1847, he assembled an expedition in Monterey to sail to the gulf and do the job properly. Under his personal command, the squadron would occupy the ports of Mazatlán, Guaymas, and others if necessary, and cooperate with the army across the gulf on the Baja peninsula.

As for Halleck, Governor Mason had appointed him secretary of state of the Territory of California on August 13, 1847. He had hardly settled down to his new bureaucratic and administrative responsibilities, however, when Shubrick asked him to join his expedition as chief-of-staff. Halleck jumped at the chance—only in the "field of glory" could one hope for a quick step up the promotional ladder—and Mason reluctantly released him.

In August the first class sloop *Portsmouth* (under Commander John B. Montgomery), the frigate *Congress* (under Captain Elie A. LaVallette), and the third class sloop *Dale* (under Commander Thomas Selfridge) proceeded to the Gulf of California as a vanguard to soften up the area and destroy commerce. On October 16, Shubrick on his flagship, the razee *Independence*, with the second class sloop *Cyane* (under Captain William Mervine) and the storeship *Erie* left Mon-

terey to rendezvous with the ships of the vanguard off the tip of the peninsula at Cape San Lucas; after a brief call at San José to make contact with Burton, they planned to cross the gulf and descend upon Mazatlán. On board Shubrick's flagship was Lieutenant Henry Halleck, and here his journal commences:

On the morning of the 25th [October] we made land a little north of Cape San Lucas, and soon afterwards fell in with several whalers. Calms and a strong westerly current around the Cape delayed us for several days. . . . The morning of the 29th we fell in with the Congress and received news of the bombardment of Guaymas, and the advance of General Scott's army upon the City of Mexico.

The frigate *Congress* had arrived off Guaymas on October 17. Captain LaVallette had tried to talk the governor into surrendering, but he failed. Accordingly, the town was bombarded and reduced, and then occupied by the sailors and marines of the frigate. Soon, the sailors of the *Portsmouth* relieved them to allow LaVallette on the *Congress* to make his rendezvous with Shubrick off Cape San Lucas.

The sloop Cyane anchored the evening of the 29th in the Bay of San José about three miles from the shore in 28 fathoms of water. The Independence and Congress came in next morning. The anchorage in this bay . . . is entirely open to the south-east and exceedingly dangerous between the months of June and November. On the 30th . . . we despatched a courier to La Paz with official papers for the Captain of the Dale . . . and the commanding officer [Burton] of that place.

Commander Selfridge of the *Dale* had anchored in the Bay of La Paz after an unsuccessful attempt to reduce the fishing village of Mulege some 250 miles to the north. (On board his ship was the famous amateur artist, Navy Gunner William H. Meyers, who painted and sketched naval scenes of the Pacific during his service.)

We were obliged to foot it [up to the town] for a distance of about five miles over a very sandy and heavy road. Our way, however, was enlivened by the songs of birds, and the woods by the roadside were filled with the most rare and beautiful flowers. . . . When we had arrived within a few hundred yards of the town . . . some boys from the adjacent ranchos rushed out with horses. . . . We despatched them to the beach to bring up our companions. It is usual to land at the northern beach with a mile and a half to the town; but we had landed at the Palm Beach for the convenience of watering the ship. . . .

San José del Cabo is situated in a broad and fertile valley . . . on the right bank of the San José River and a mile and half from its mouth. On the west side is a ridge of high mountains, one of whose conical peaks forms an excellent landmark for the anchorage. The town is composed of some strong adobe houses pretty well built.

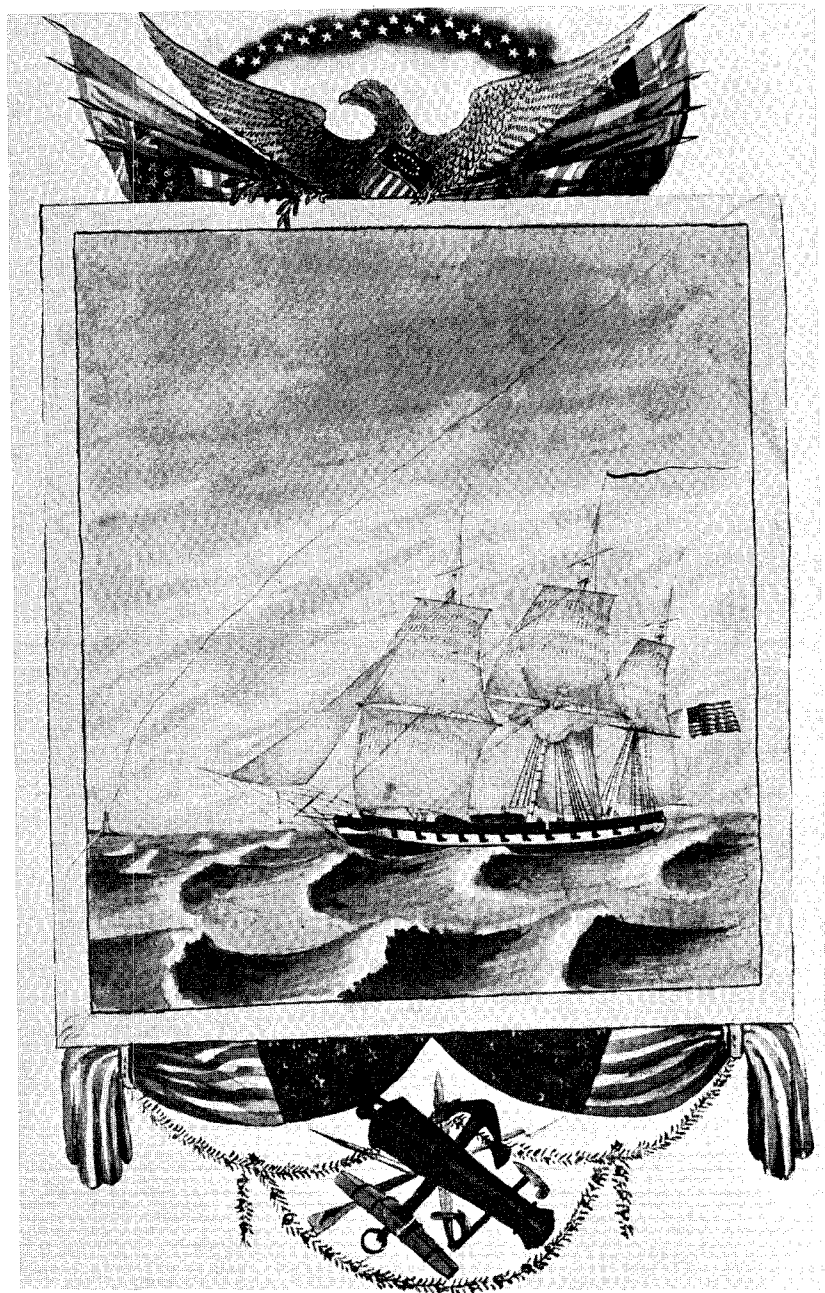
From information received at San José we learned that the country was in a very unsettled state; the most respectable inhabitants were endeavoring to maintain order and quiet; but a few worthless adventurers were inciting classes to insurrection. To understand this state of affairs it will be necessary to go back and take a brief survey of the previous operations of our forces on this coast.

Owing to the absence of our squadron from the gulf, the Mexicans had landed about four hundred men and several pieces of artillery and a large supply of ammunition. Powder had

also been supplied to the enemy, it is said, by the brig Thomas H. Benton from New York. A small body of soldiers, mostly refugees from justice, were landed at Mulije [Mulege] and placed under the command of Manuel Pineda, Captain of Cavalry, who proclaimed himself Gefe Politico y Commandante Militar de Baja California. His only authority for this was a passport from Colonel Rafael Telles, commanding officer at Mazatlán who was himself in open rebellion against the Central Government of Mexico.

According to Halleck, Pineda and his soldiers had little support at first from the local population who wished to remain neutral until a treaty of peace had been signed "to settle their future destiny." Pineda declared them all traitors and threatened reprisals unless they supported him, "thus many rancheros of Mulije [Mu-

Amateur artist Wm. Meyers, a naval gunner, painted the second-class sloop Cyane which, along with the Portsmouth, Congress, Independence and Dale, made up the Pacific Squadron contingent assigned to blockade and subdue Lower California.



lege] were induced to join the revolution.” Pineda and his associates were a villainous bunch, asserted Halleck.

As Pineda had fled from Mazatlán to avoid his creditors and the consequences of a dissipated and lawless life, and had assumed command in California without any legal authority of his government, his character condition seemed to fit him for the command of this band of lawless vagabonds. . . . He was utterly destitute of personal courage . . . and he arranged rather than executed plans of robbery and murder. The executions were left to several leaders of the guerrilla parties.

Pineda’s principal coadjutors were two clerics, Padre Vicente of Comondu, fifty miles to the south of Mulege, and Padre Gabriel Gonzales of Todos Santos, on the western coast. The former, who urged his men to kill Yankees to assure glorious rewards in heaven, was thought to be a “crazy fool even by his own flock.” He placed himself at the head of his guerrilla band in “robes and cross held high” but armed to the teeth, although at the first sound of gun fire he was the first to run. When his situation became dangerous, he took off in a whale boat across the gulf “with all the plundered church silver, and his prize gaming cocks.” Turned back by the launch of the *Dale*, he was last seen, Halleck observed, minus his swag, running to the hills “for he was an expert runner of foot races.” Padre Gabriel, Halleck reported, was a very different man:

He was cool, cunning and intelligent, and destitute alike of principle and honor. . . . He was living at this time at La Paz for the purposes of medical advice for the numerous diseases contracted in some of his scenes of debauchery. . . . He manifested the most friendly feelings towards the officers of the American garrison although in constant correspondence with Pineda. . . . He was engaged in procuring arms for the insurgents, but solemnly denied that Pineda was in the country for hostile purposes, and ridiculed the idea of any intended insurrection.

After the skirmish with the landing party of the *Dale* at Mulege, Pineda had moved south and with his “tatterdemalion” party set up his base of operations at San Antonio, some 15 miles south of La Paz; Padre Gabriel and his partisans moved to Todos Santos on the west coast of the peninsula. Halleck continued:

Such was the actual state of affairs in Lower California on our arrival at the Cape, but it was not easy to form a satisfactory opinion from the meager and contradictory reports which we received at San José. . . . Under the circumstances I proposed to Commodore Shubrick the propriety of sending a small body of men to Todos Santos to make a reconnaissance and ascertain the exact state of the country. Accordingly a party of officers and men were selected for this purpose and placed under the command of Lieut. Montgomery Lewis, U.S.N.

The party included Halleck, Navy Lieutenant George Selden, Navy Surgeon Maxwell, Lieutenant William Russell, and twenty-five sailors and marines.

November 1st, 1847. . . . Landed from the ship and found our guides, horses and pack mules waiting for us on the beach. Having completed our preparations we left the town about 5 o’clock [P.M.], took the road to Todos Santos. But no sooner were we under way than the country people begged us not to venture into the interior with so small a party, for Pineda, they said, had already organised several hundred men and would assuredly

attack us. The next day this rumored force increased to 700 men said to be lying in wait for us near the padre's rancho at San Jacinto.

Disregarding the rumors of Pineda's intentions, the party pressed on. They stayed the night at the Rancho Ascunción at the foot of a mountain some fifteen miles from San José, tying their horses to a line of trees, arranging their saddles and packs into "circular breastworks," and spending "a restless night."

November 2nd. Rose at daybreak. . . . Some of our animals had broken their picket lines and had wandered off, so we did not get in motion until 7 o'clock. The old ranchero brought us fresh milk and cheese and manifested every desire to treat us with the utmost hospitality. He was exceedingly poor and lived entirely upon the produce of his cattle; and not an inch of ground for miles around us was susceptible of cultivation. He had nevertheless raised up a large family of children, most of whom had married and were now living away from home. One daughter about 14 or 15 years of age still remained whose pretty face and magnificent figure would have made her a queen in any country village.

The country beyond the Ascunción Rancho, Halleck observed, was very barren and covered with great granite rocks as "though they had been split into fragments by thunderbolts." About nine o'clock Halleck's party passed the Rancho San Felipe and found some good pasturage near a fine brook of purest water where they breakfasted. Soon they were in the "middle of the mountain range that extends from Cape San Lucas to the northern extremity of Oregon, and on each side of us were lofty peaks, some four or five thousand feet." They crossed high table lands which lay half way between the gulf and the Pacific, and bivouaced for the night at the side of a small stream at a place the guides called Rincon. As there was "considerable danger of attack," they kept the strictest watch through the night.

November 3rd. We started this morning at 4 o'clock and rode by moonlight. Our road lay across small streams and broken spurs of the mountains, and it was with difficulty that we could get our horses over the rocks and steep ravines that obstructed our way. . . . We had travelled by a mere mountain path, winding amongst the rocks and trees and generally through gorges so narrow that two animals could not pass at a time. At 9 o'clock we reached the rancho of San Jacinto belonging to Padre González, a fine sugar plantation on the San Jacinto River. On our approach most of the men up in the plantations fled to the woods and the women received us with great coldness, replying, "No comprendo," to all our interrogations. . . . At 11 o'clock we resumed our march, determined to push on as near as possible to Todos Santos before dark and ascertain the real state of affairs in that vicinity. At 5 o'clock we arrived at Pescadero, a collection of four or five ranchos, one of which was situated on top of a small hill and afforded an excellent look-out and defense. We resolved to stop there for the night and push on to Todos Santos in the morning. . . . We turned our horses to graze till dark, and while beef and vegetables were procured and cooked outside for the men, we contrived to have a supper prepared indoors for the officers. As the old ranchero was too miserably poor to furnish us anything but beef and milk, we obtained some chickens from a neighboring farm and turned them over to his daughters to prepare. How many children the old man had I do not remember, but I do know that he had at home five girls from 14 to 19 years of age, and as pretty as could be looked for on a California rancho. To good Spanish features, without any mixture of

Indian blood, were added forms that queens might envy. Wearing dresses without sleeves, and low in the bosom like our belles at home when they wish to display their charms in the ballroom, and being too poor to afford [?] with which Mexican ladies usually conceal their budding features, these belles of Pescadero, in their simple calico robes without the aid of cotton brocade and whale bones, presented us lovely figures as the age could ever wish to gaze upon; and with hearty appetites and chicken well cooked, we waited in anticipation of a pleasant entertainment.

At length the chickens made their appearance in an immense earthen dish . . . with a savory smell not to be ignored. A difficulty now arose in serving them up in proper style, for we had only brought with us our clasp-knives and metallic drinking cups. The latter answered well enough for our coffee in the field, and the knives served us perfectly in cutting up our beef after it had been roasted on a stick by a camp fire. But now that we had ladies to entertain the case was different; for one long dish and a knife or two constitute the usual table furniture of a Californian ranchero, and an earthen pot and iron skillet, the entire poterie de cuisine. . . . Some old cracked plates were found under a bed, however, and placed on a wooden trunk which served as a table, and blocks of wood arranged around it for seats. Each of us shared a block of wood with a fair companion, and it was necessary for the gentleman and lady to sit in close proximity . . . and one arm tightly about her waist lest she slip off the seat while the other hand did the double duty of feeding the entertained and the entertainer. As there was only one cup for every couple, the fair lady was obliged to drink from the same as her cavalier. We were deficient in knives and forks but then fingers were invented before either—and we used these to advantage and held up the chicken to the rosy lips of our sweethearts while they delicately nibbled off the fleshy meat. . . . If our friends at home could have looked in upon us, they must have admired the grace in which we plied these California beauties with hard bread, coffee and chicken stews.

[After the meal] preparations were made for a dance which was continued with much glee till a late hour. There were, however, some drawbacks to the gaiety of the evening—

The advance guard of the squadron proceeded to Lower California in August, 1847, to weaken the area before the main force's arrival, and on October 2, the Dale's landing force under Lieutenant Craven attempted to subdue the Mexicans, commanded by Pineda, at Mulege. Meyers dutifully recorded the skirmish in water colors.

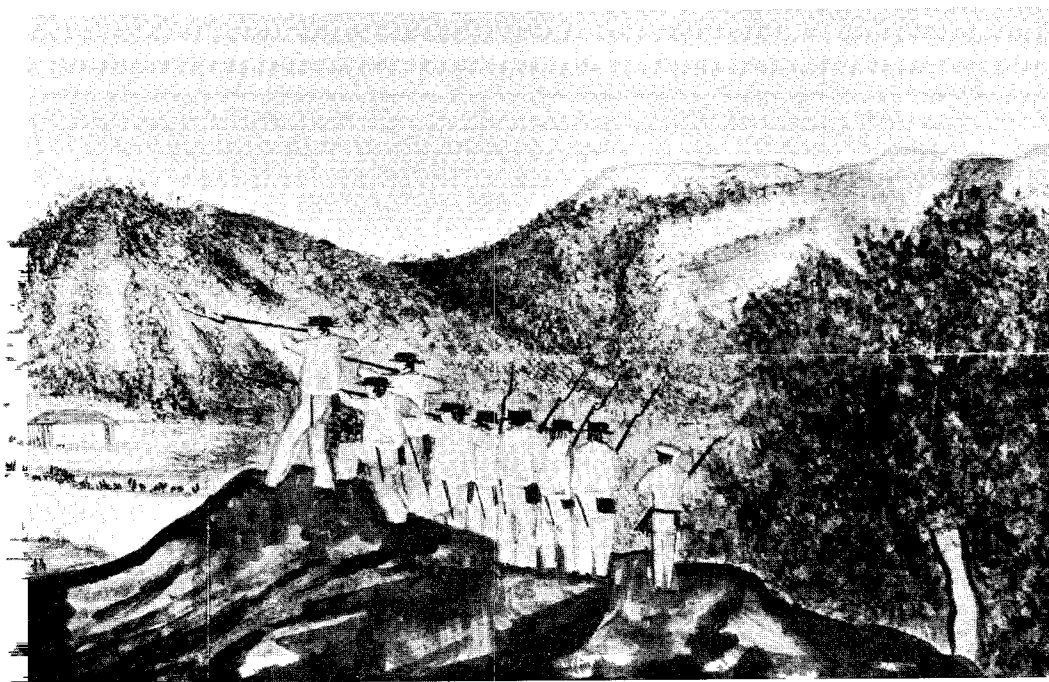


the old three-string guitar was out of tune, and the ground inside was very uneven; moreover it was slightly fatiguing to dance with revolvers in each pocket, horse pistols in the belt, and a heavy saber buckled to the side. Our carbines were close at hand, and in addition to four sentinels on the outside of the house, one officer always kept near the door to give an instant alarm in case of an attack. At 11 o'clock we bade goodnight to our fair friends and slept soundly on the ground outside, notwithstanding the close proximity of our sleeping beauties, and the strong probability of a fight before morning. . . ."

But daylight came without an attack, and at an early hour we were on the road to the Mission at Todos Santos. . . . On our approach we were informed that the insurgents had left the place. We reached the town about 8 o'clock and immediately took up quarters in the Mission. Alarmed at our approach Padre Gabriel had fled, but finding that we were not disposed to injure anyone, and fearing that his absence might compromise his pecuniary interests, he came back and pretended to be greatly pleased at seeing us in his house.

But Halleck and his party did not trust the padre who was "casting a sinister eye upon our horses and equipment," so they put a sentry on his door. They calculated, however, that the mission was admirably suited for defense and that their party of thirty could hold out against 300 Mexicans until reinforcements reached them from San José.

Describing Todos Santos, Halleck observed "a town of straggling houses," the church and the mission buildings in good repair, and "the missionary character of the establishment having ceased with the disappearance of the Indians." Reporting on the political conditions at Todos Santos, Halleck recorded a conversation with the smooth talking Padre Gabriel who assured them that he greatly regretted the disturbances that had taken place and that he blamed them upon certain evilly disposed persons from Mulege "who had endeavored to incite people to arms." The padre continued that some of the Baja Californians were in favor of remaining a Mexican colony, while others preferred annexation to the United States, "but to get up a revolution could only lead to disaster and ruin."



Halleck thought the padre's remarks very sensible, but "certain circumstances in his conduct led us to believe that, while plying us with soft words, he was actually planning some scheme to destroy us." Hence, a strong guard was posted, and the officers took turns to watch every movement of the padre. In spite of these precautions, however, the padre attempted to induce "the inhabitants to make the Americans prisoners." Failing in this, he dispatched a courier to Pineda advising him to ambush the Americans on their way to San José. Accordingly,

On November 5th we called in the second alcalde—the first had left the place on our approach under the pretense of private business in the interior of the country—and read to him a letter from Commodore Shubrick, and represented to him the ruinous consequences that must result to the contrary if the people should be so foolish as to join Pineda in his insurrectionary measures. The Padre acted as spokesman in reply and assured us on his own part, and for the authorities of the town, that no disturbances should take place and that they would continue to reorganize the existing government of the country till the question of allegiance should be finally settled by a treaty of peace with Mexico. It is worthy of remark that while the reverend Padre was guilty of falsehood in nearly every word he spoke, and in less than half an hour gave the lie to his protestations, the second alcalde and rancheros of Todos Santos were true to their word, and notwithstanding the threats of the priest and his partisans, continued as friends of the Americans in all the subsequent difficulties in the peninsula.

Having accomplished the principal object of our visit, our orders not permitting us to be any longer absent from the squadron, we left the Mission in the afternoon [November 5] intending to bivouac again at Pescadero. But as we were about to start, a circumstance occurred to exhibit the Padre's character in its true light. Contrary to our express orders he had sold rum to our Marines, and about half a dozen of them were so intoxicated as to be scarcely able to sit upon their horses; and one of the Padre's illegitimate sons [later, a captain under Pineda] had succeeded in stealing a number of the flints from their guns. He at first positively denied it, but the flints were found in his pocket. We felt disposed to administer a suitable punishment for his conduct but deemed it preferable in the existing state of the country to let him off with a severe reprimand. The Padre stood by and seemed to regard with approbation the theft and falsehood of his illegitimate offspring.

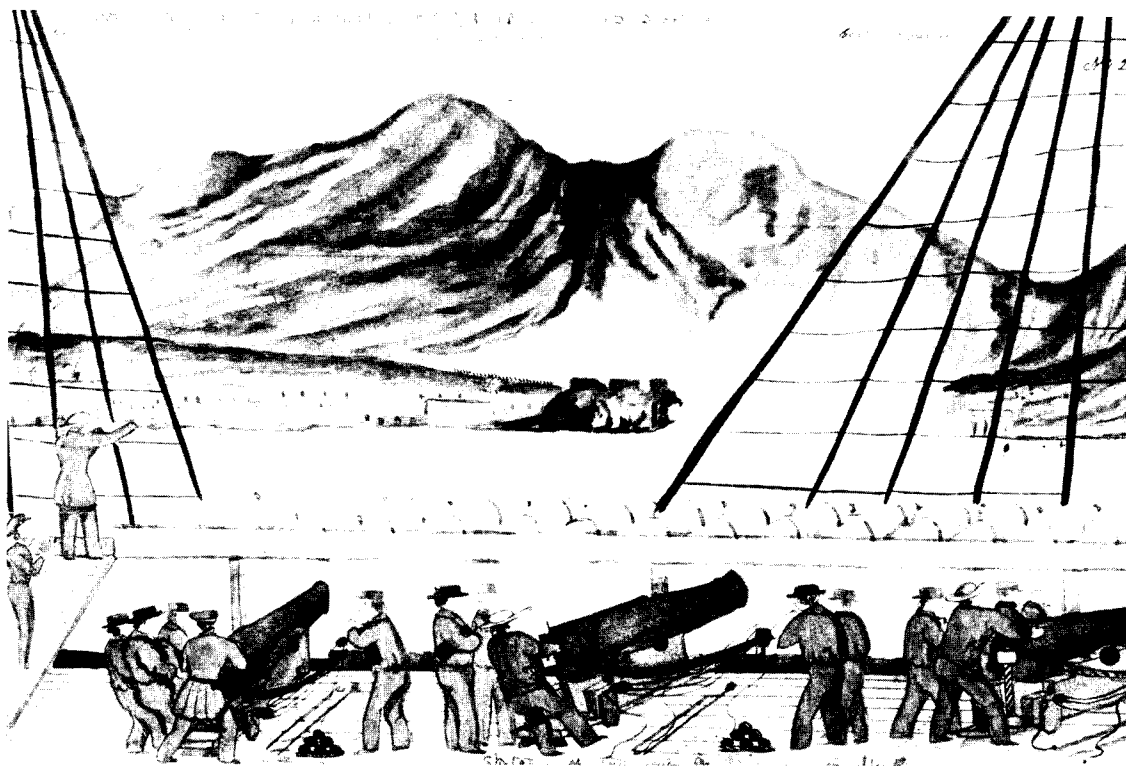
Halleck and his party reached Pescadero before dark on November 5 and planned to spend another riotous evening with the fair señoritas. However, a messenger arrived from their friends in Todos Santos who told them that a party of Pineda's insurrectionists had appeared soon after they left and were now planning an attack on the Americans at Pescadero. Halleck reported that they then "gave their whole attention to preparations for defense," and although during the night they saw several of the enemy in the distant bushes, the day dawned without an attack. The night of November 6 they bivouaced on the mesa, and friendly rancheros gave them milk and fresh beef. Taking a moment for his journal, Halleck reflected, "The beef of Lower California in the season when the cattle are fat is superior, I think, to any other I have tasted. . . ."

November 7th. We were early in the saddle, and stopping a short time on the road to graze our horses and cook our breakfast, we reached San José about sundown and immediately went on board the Independence to report the result of our reconnaissance. The Commo-

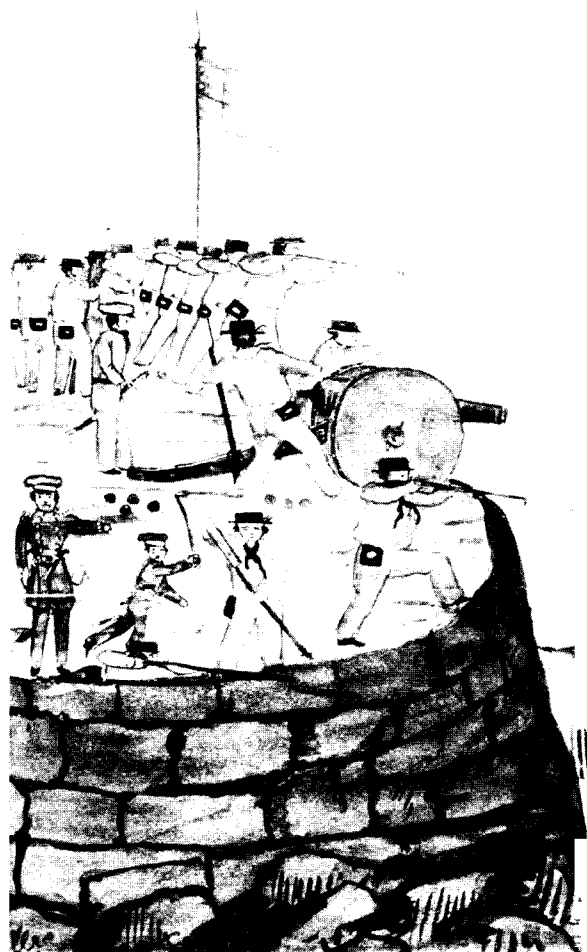
dore then heard from the alcalde of San José that it would be impossible for him to maintain the quiet of the town during the absence of the Squadron unless some force was left to give countenance and support to his authority. The people, he said, were friendly, but being denounced as traitors by the guerrillas, they were afraid to act according to their own wishes. A small garrison was deemed sufficient for the present object, it being intended that one of the vessels of war should return after the capture of Mazatlán. Accordingly on the morning of November 8th, Lieut. Heywood with four officers and 25 marines and sailors were ordered ashore to garrison the old cuartel at the upper end of the town. Fortunately there was very little surf this morning at the landing near the mouth of the river, so that everything was got ashore without difficulty. At one o'clock the Squadron sailed for Mazatlán leaving Lieut. Heywood, USN, and his little band to try their hand for a time with the guerrillas of the Peninsula.

Although Halleck left some notes on the Mazatlán expedition, they were short and sketchy and served only to remind him that he had to finish that portion (which we presume he never did). From other sources, primarily reports to Congress, however, we know that Commodore Shubrick had hoped to pick up some of Burton's New York Volunteers from La Paz to assist him in the expedition to Mazatlán. Before he left Monterey Shubrick was handed a dispatch from Lieutenant W. T. Sherman (promoted to Mason's acting assistant adjutant general) for Burton which directed the Volunteers to support the naval forces. The dispatch read, in part, "It is ordered that, if compatible with the safety of that portion of California, you leave at La Paz or San José such officers and men of your present command as will ensure the safety of our flag there, and with the balance embark and cooperate with the naval forces in any attack that they may make against Mazatlán" (House of Representatives, *Executive Document #17*, 31 Congress, 1 session). However, the Todos Santos reconnaissance party under Lieutenant Lewis (described by Halleck) had just discovered that there was considerable threat from the guerrillas all across the peninsula. Aware of this ominous situation, Burton also knew of Pineda's move to San Antonio and the threat to La Paz. Believing himself to be in no position to help Shubrick in his attack on Mazatlán, Burton in fact considered his hold on the peninsula so precarious that he instead prevailed upon Shubrick to leave a garrison of sailors and marines at San José under Lieutenant Heywood. As a result Shubrick, with the three ships of the squadron—the frigates *Independence* and *Congress* and the sloop *Cyane*—set out to attack Mazatlán with a much smaller landing party than he had anticipated.

The three ships arrived off Mazatlán on the afternoon of November 9, having sailed from the roadstead of San José at 1 P.M. on the eighth and covering the 200 miles of the gulf in twenty-four hours. Early next morning Shubrick placed his ships in position: the *Independence* (well fitted-out with eight 8-inch shell guns and forty-eight 32-pound carronades) anchored with her broadside to the town; the *Congress* (with approximately the same armament as the other frigate) commanded the old harbor and the road leading northward; and the *Cyane* (with twenty 32-pounders) commanded the landing near the new harbor. A party to carry the summons to surrender under a flag of truce assembled on the *Independence*. Captain Elie A. F. LaVallette, Henry Halleck, Flag Lieutenant Henry S., and Henry LaReintrie who was Shubrick's secretary and translator (he



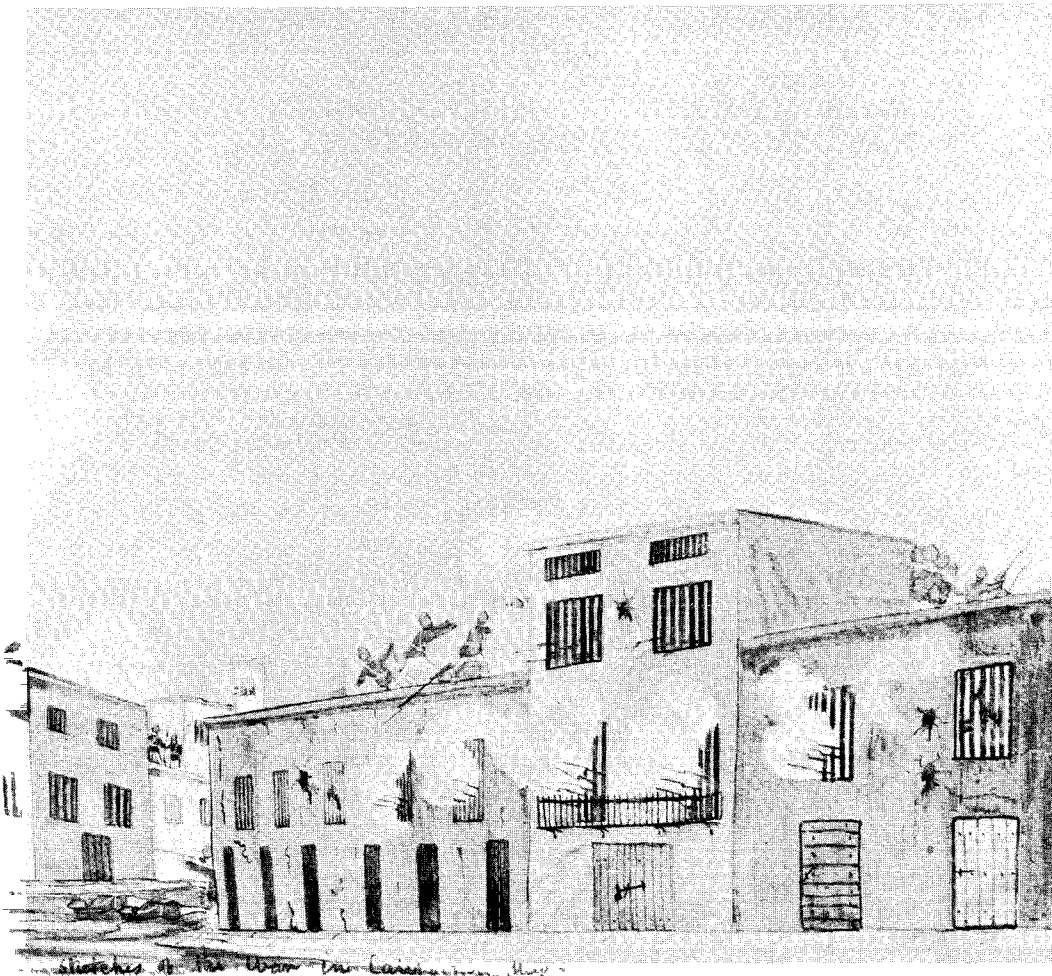
Following their orders to occupy ports, blockade trade, and cooperate with the army across the gulf on the peninsula, the Dale's 32-pounders—with artist Meyers firing (above)—bombaraded Guaymas, while seamen attempted to take possession of the fort and drive Mexican troops from the surrounding houses (right).



had held the same position under Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones at the time of the embarrassing descent on Monterey in 1842).

It came as no surprise to the truce party that the military commandant and governor of Mazatlán, Colonel Rafael Telles, was out of town. At previous landings of United States forces in Alta California the Mexican official in authority had regularly absented to a safe place from where he could issue bombastic proclamations in defiance of the invader. Two army officers and two civilian members of the junta met the American party, however, and they led them to the house of the president of the junta, José Vasavilboro, who informed the Americans that his junta had no vote "in the deliberations of the military" and that he was not aware of "their resolution" (National Archives, Microfilm records of Tenth Military Department, Rg 393, Roll 6). The summons to surrender was then sent by courier to Colonel Telles who was in camp with his troops at Palos Orietos, about twelve miles from Mazatlán. Exhibiting a flare for the dramatic, Telles paraded his troops, read the American summons aloud, tore the paper up, and jumped on the pieces.

Shubrick, meanwhile, had decided not to wait for Telles' reaction: between noon and one o'clock on the eleventh the landing party under Captain LaVallette



and Halleck departed from the squadron in twenty-nine boats with 730 officers, sailors, and marines and five field pieces. No opposition was made to the landings, and at 1:10 P.M. the Stars and Stripes was hoisted over the army barracks to the accompaniment of a twenty-one gun-salute from the *Independence*.

On November 13 articles of capitulation were drawn up and signed by the junta. Shubrick then imposed a moderate tariff, allowed all goods to be freely exported, promised no interference with normal life but harsh treatment for insurrectionists, and forbade the sale of liquor to United States forces. He also appointed LaVallette as governor and Halleck as lieutenant governor.

Colonel Telles, predictably, was furious that things had gone so well for the Americans, and he denounced the capitulation terms. On November 14 he moved his 700 troops nearer to the town and sent 150 men under a Swiss officer, Lieutenant Carlos Horn, to Urias on the road south to the interior with the idea of cutting off communications and trade with Mexico City. On hearing of this movement, LaVallette sent a force of ninety-four sailors under Lieutenant George Selden, with Henry Halleck to advise, to flush the Mexicans out of Urias. Another smaller party of sixty-two men under Lieutenant Stephen Rowan was sent up the Mazatlán estero by boat to cut off the enemy's retreat back to their camp. Selden and Halleck drove out one group of the enemy in the chaparral near Urias and then at dusk advanced towards the town and concealed themselves until daylight. During the night Halleck reconnoitered the area with several volunteers and at first light made contact with Rowan's party. They laid plans to coordinate an attack with Selden's men, and Halleck and his men returned to their position near Urias. At a signal from Halleck both parties attacked the town and routed the enemy who ran so quickly that Rowan and his men were unable to circle around and cut off their retreat. Four Mexicans were killed and twenty wounded, and the Americans suffered one casualty and several slightly wounded. (The information above comes from the House of Representatives, *Executive Document #17*, 31 Congress, 1 session.)

As new lieutenant governor, Halleck took up his administrative duties at Mazatlán and the responsibilities of constructing redoubts for the defense of the harbor and the approaches from the interior. Far to the north there had been some trouble at Guaymas, and the *Portsmouth* had been left there with her sailors garrisoning the town. Later, Shubrick pulled her away and replaced her with the sloop *Dale*, but when the Mexicans saw the big frigate being replaced by a sloop they plucked up courage and infiltrated the town. Commander Selfridge of the *Dale* bombarded the town to displace them and in the act of retaking the port he was badly wounded in the foot. Guaymas, however, was again garrisoned by United States forces.

Meanwhile, on the Baja peninsula Heywood's garrison at San José and Burton's at La Paz were both attacked by Pineda's men, and only with difficulty did they drive them off. In January, 1848, Heywood came under attack again and was driven from the town, and a number of his men were captured by the enemy. Heywood was able to send a message across the gulf to Shubrick who sent the *Cyane* to assist Heywood in regaining his post, which he did. At La Paz Burton received news from Mason in Monterey that another company of the New York Volunteers under the command of Captain Naglee was on its way to reinforce

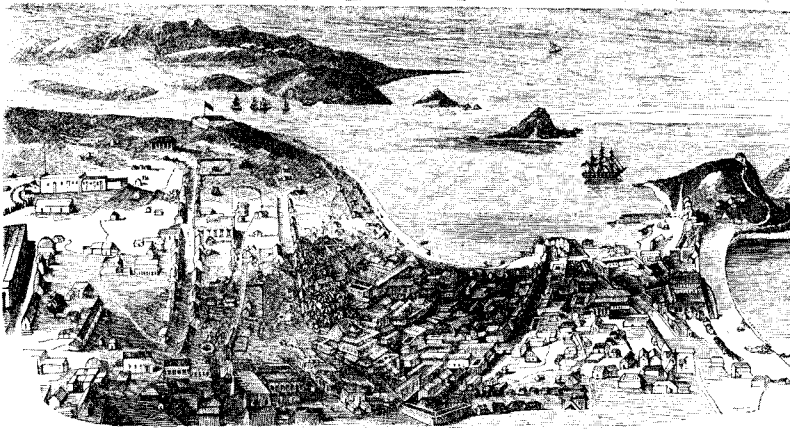
the garrisons; with any luck Burton would then be able to launch an expedition inland at the peninsula to actively engage the insurgents.

Across the gulf at Mazatlán at the end of December Telles was again flexing his muscles and building up a substantial force at Palos Prietos. LaVallette sent out two parties to dislodge Telles: fifty sailors under Lieutenant Henry Wise, again accompanied by Halleck, and a party of marines under Lieutenant William Russell. After a brief skirmish the Mexicans fled, leaving behind most of their baggage. They inflicted one casualty on the Americans, slightly wounding Lawrence Andrews, a wardroom steward on the *Independence*. Telles was replaced soon after by the new governor of Sinaloa, Don Rafael de la Vega, who was not a military man. He stationed a few troops on the road to the interior in hopes of preventing normal commercial activities, but all serious military threats were at an end.

Halleck then requested a transfer to the active theater of operations across the gulf, and he joined his old friend Burton as second in command of the United States forces for the coming active campaign against the insurgents on the peninsula. Here his memoir continues:

At Mazatlán I took passage on the 2nd of February [1848] for La Paz. The peninsula was still in an unsettled state. . . . Guerrilla parties still hung about La Paz and San José, annoying the garrisons with continual threats of an attack, but retiring to the mountains on the first appearance of a sortie party from the American works. Their principal object was to cut off those who might venture beyond the reach of our guns. . . . Their efforts proved unsuccessful until the end of January, when they succeeded in capturing Passed Midshipman Duncan Wally and five men near San José. Encouraged by the taking of prisoners the enemy converted the blockade of the little garrison into a siege. All the cattle in the vicinity of San José were driven into the interior, and as the Portsmouth had sailed for the U.S. without leaving [Heywood's] garrison with proper supplies of ammunition or provisions, there was every prospect of starving the place into surrender. Such was the state of affairs in the Peninsula at the time of our reaching La Paz. . . .

On the evening of the 7th of February we entered the bay by the northern channel between San José Island and Espiritu Santo Island, and the next morning were in sight of the town of La Paz. The houses are mostly built of adobe, and, being whitewashed, may be seen at a great distance and when approached by sea present a very pretty appearance. Hills and two sloping mountains some miles north form excellent landmarks to point out its position. The surrounding country presents a forbidding aspect, being composed of volcanic hills and arid plains covered with cactus. The sloop Cyane and several small coastal vessels were lying at anchor in the channel opposite the town, while the Stars and Stripes floated over the cuartel on the hill. The storeship Southampton [with Halleck on board] having anchored under Pinta Prieto [?] to wait for a change of tide, I took passage for the shore in a pilot boat; and as the sea was smooth, we laid our course with a light breeze directly across the shoal which extends from the [?] to near Pinta Prieto, forming the narrow channel through which vessels are obliged to pass in order to reach the town. The anchorage, however, is good almost anywhere outside this shoal; the islands of San José and Espiritu Santo protect the bay from the north and the east, and the mainland covers it from the so'westers. The appearance of La Paz on landing did not justify the favorable opinion we had formed when viewing it at a distance. The main street near the water was



Mazatlán, the most important port on the Pacific, surrendered to U.S. naval forces in November, 1847, after a number of skirmishes on the road to nearby Urias in which Halleck coordinated American attack parties.

tolerably well built up, and planted with quite pretty young trees; but the other parts of the town were mostly in ruins, a part of the buildings having been burnt by the guerrillas in their attack in November last, and others pulled down by the Americans to give greater play to their artillery. Many of the inhabitants were thus left without a home or even shelter for their heads, and soon fled to the fields and built themselves shanties of brush while others lived in the open air. War, on the smallest scale, is not without its horrors; and even in this bye-place of the earth, many a suffering female and helpless orphan live to call down the vengeance of heaven upon the heads of profligate statesmen who involve nations in useless and unnecessary wars.

Halleck discovered that there was a plan to unite a part of the crew of the *Cyane* with the garrison at La Paz to mount an expedition against the insurgents and rescue the American prisoners. A combined force of sailors and infantry could probably sustain itself against attack but would be ill-fitted to chase guerrillas who could freely move over mountainous country which they knew so well. However, it was thought, a small mobile American party in the interior would be of some value in supporting and reassuring those rancheros who continued to resist Pineda's threats. Nevertheless, the news from San José was discouraging and the garrison had been left without supplies, so the operation against the insurgents in the La Paz area had to be postponed while the *Cyane* was sent south to relieve San José and provision the garrison. Upon her return to La Paz they would perhaps set an expedition in motion again, and in the meantime Halleck determined to explore some of the islands in the gulf and visit some of the fishing villages further north on the east coast of the peninsula. On March 1 he set off in the launch of the storeship *Southampton*, with Lieutenant Worden, a pilot, and eight men.

Sailing along the islands of Espiritu Santo, San José, Santa Cruz, and looking into the ensenadas de los Burros and Dolores, we landed after five hours at San Marcia to look for a supply of gull's eggs with which this island is usually covered. . . . About two o'clock on the morning of the 5th, we reached the Bay of Escondido. As we rowed into the mouth of the harbor, the mirror-like surface of the water most beautifully reflected the stars and the dark shadows of the surrounding mountains. . . . The harbor itself is one of the finest of the world, being perfectly landmarked and having sufficient depth of water to float the largest ships ever built.

We anchored in the inner bay and waited for daylight, expecting to find a Mexican schooner which was reported to be concealed somewhere in this harbor. But when morning

came nothing was to be seen of the expected prize. . . . Finally we found the vessel hidden away in a small cove defended by one large dog and a miserable old Manila negro. We effected the capture with very little bloodshed, but the sails had been removed to Loreto . . . and if we wished to use the schooner we would have to go up to that place in the launch and secure them. This would involve the capture of the town which might not be too easy, but we decided that most of the men would be absent with Pineda, and that no opposition was likely to be made. . . . Having to contend with a headwind we did not reach the anchorage of Loreto until sundown. A lot of people had gathered around the church and they seemed to be armed. It was possible that they were a guerrilla party from Comondu or San Antonio and we might have had our hands full if we attempted to take the town with only ten of us. We resolved to land but we could not get the launch over a sand bar and we had to wade for 200 yards in water up to our necks, holding firearms above our heads to keep them dry. . . . The armed men were now apparently taking post in some underbrush bordering the town, and we approached with great caution, our guns cocked and hands on the triggers. In the hopes of surprising our opponents, we divided our eight sailors into separate columns, and directed the commander of each column, in case of a charge by the enemy's cavalry, to instantly form his men into a hollow square! Jack answered with his customary "'Aye, 'aye, Sir,'" not exactly knowing whether we were joking or in earnest. But as we approached the town the guerrillas vanished into thin air, and in their places were women and children. . . . Most of the males of the place were with Pineda, but the female community hailed our arrival with joy . . . and they were very upset when they learned our stay was to be a short one. . . .

We procured the sails, returned to the launch and set sail for Escondido. But the wind died and we had to use the oars. . . . The night was cool and our clothes were drenching wet, so the passage was far from pleasant. We reached the schooner about 1 o'clock in the morning. We lay aside our wet clothes, wrapped ourselves up in warm blankets and had a good snore. Having no room aboard the launch for bedding, we had only brought along a blanket and a pea jacket each—the deficiency was made up by the old sails of the schooner. The following day, while the sailors were busy ballasting the Rosario—the name of our prize—we made a short excursion into the interior and visited two ranchos.

March 7th. The squadron, consisting of the schooner Rosario and the launch, set sail this morning for Salinas Bay, the part of Carmen Island opposite the salt mines. . . . On the morning of the 9th we reached La Paz. We learned that the Cyane would not return for some time to unite her forces with the garrison and march against the enemy. In the meantime we sent out small parties to cut off Mexican outposts, and to pick up prisoners, horses and saddles and equipment . . . and we quietly made preparations for an expedition against San Antonio to rescue the American prisoners, and perhaps capture Pineda; and daily we increased our strength in captured horses and supplies. Some said that the garrison at San Antonio numbered less than 40 men, while others made it double that number, exclusive of the small parties, stationed on the roads leading to La Paz, who were watching our movements. The prisoners had been taken towards San José because Pineda believed that we were planning to rescue them. . . . They would probably be moved again if Pineda heard of our intended movements. . . . It was therefore necessary to act with great caution. When 30 or 40 horses had been collected, and everyone supposed that some expedition was to be undertaken, it was given out that the affair was to be postponed for several days. . . . The men were greatly disappointed at this decision, but at 9 o'clock in the evening orders were suddenly given to a party of picked men to instantly mount their horses and

start . . . while at the same time a guard was thrown around the town to prevent any person from leaving in order to communicate with the enemy. . . .”

The party consisted of Captain [Seymour G.] Steele [First New York Regiment], Lieut. Henry Halleck, Dr. [Surgeon Alexander] Perry and Acting Lieut. Scott [First New York Regiment] and Volunteer guards, numbering in all 31 officers and men. . . . [Halleck neglects to mention that three Californian guards and citizens who lived in the area also joined the party—Messrs. Herman, Ehrenberg, and Taylor.] For the first twenty miles. . . .

At this eventful moment Halleck’s journal is interrupted. For details of this important mission—in which Halleck played a leading part—to attack the enemy headquarters at San Antonio and rescue the men of Heywood’s command who had been captured and made prisoners outside San José more than one month earlier, we must rely on Captain Seymour Steele’s official report of the affair to Congress (House of Representatives, *Executive Document #31*, 30 Congress, 2 session).

Halleck’s party rode out of La Paz between nine and ten P.M. on March 15. At daylight on the sixteenth they captured one of the enemy’s pickets just eight miles from San Antonio and approached their objective under cover along an arroya and “charged into the town at full speed. . . .” They quickly rescued the prisoners from whom they learned that the Mexican garrison had been withdrawn to a defensive position just outside the town. The officers, however, were still in town, and within minutes the second in command of the insurgents, Captain Calderon, was captured, together with the adjutant, Lieutenant Arse, their flag, and all their private and public papers. The big prize, Commandante Manuel Pineda, however was lost to them: “He escaped in his night clothes, having just arisen from his bed,” reported Steele. Halleck and Steele then rallied their men, charged the Mexican positions outside the town, and drove fifty Mexicans into the adjacent hills. Three Mexicans were killed and eight wounded, and one American, Sergeant Thomas Hipwood, was killed. “Pantaloons, cravats, hats, horses, saddles attest the numerous narrow escapes,” but no Americans were wounded. Within two hours the party was on their way back to La Paz. Despite another attack from insurgents on the return trip in which six Mexicans were killed or wounded and the captured Mexican captain received a ball in his shoulder, Halleck and party covered the round trip of 128 miles in thirty hours. They were back at La Paz at 2 A.M. on the seventeenth, having led their exhausted horses on foot for the last five miles. Steele completed his report with acknowledgments: “To Surgeon Alexander Perry and Lieut. Halleck, U.S. Engineers, most sincere thanks are due for their counsel and assistance.”

Halleck’s private journal begins again after his return from the whirlwind expedition.

Reinforcements having arrived from Upper California [Captain Henry Naglee and another company of First Regiment of N.Y. Volunteers], preparations were immediately made for taking the field. Accordingly between 12 and one o’clock on the morning of the 26th [of March, 1848], Lieut. Col. Burton started from La Paz with 217 officers and men to march against the enemy. . . . An advance guard of some 50 mounted men was formed. . . . It was intended to mount the remainder of the force as soon as horses could be captured,

but for the present most of the officers and men were on foot. After a fatiguing march of about 22 miles we halted at . . . the rancho Playatas. . . . Our vacqueros killed a couple of bullocks. . . . Officers and men crowded round the camp fires with pieces of meat on sharpened sticks held over the burning coals. The air was filled with the savory smell . . . none but old campaigners can appreciate the pleasures of such a feast. . . . At 4 o'clock we were again on the march . . . and we entered a very broken portion of the country . . . parts of the road were filled with volcanic stones, and we occasionally crossed hills of granite with fantastic twists and contortions whose colored veins gave evidence of what in former ages were the agonies of a burning world. After a few miles we overtook the advance guard—they had learnt from a captured partisan that Pineda with a few attendants were still at San Antonio; and the remainder of the guerrillas were near Santiago under the command of one, Castro. It was important to push on without delay. . . . We reached Las Trincheras, where there was water, at 8 o'clock in the evening, having marched about 34 miles in the last 24 hours. . . .”

March 27th. Left Las Trincheras this morning at 9 o'clock. During the forenoon we passed over a part of the country entirely destitute of grass, and covered only with cactus and stunted trees. . . . A small advance guard of mounted men pushed rapidly forward to San Antonio, and succeeded in surprising Pineda and his party, and the main body entered the town about 6 o'clock having marched this day 18 miles. . . .”

They remained next day in San Antonio where friendly rancheros brought them horses, and more of the column became mounted infantry. More rancheros joined them and volunteered to act as guides through the mountain passes. Other rancheros, Halleck recorded, “had undertaken to reconnoiter the enemy and bring us information.” When the reconnaissance party had not returned by the dawn of the twenty-ninth, Burton and Halleck decided to continue south to Santiago which lay on the road to San José. On the road by 5 A.M., a few miles from San Antonio they met a courier from Santiago who told them that “the enemy had left that place and were crossing the main range by the road from Miraflores to the Mission of Todos Santos.” Countermarching the column, the party returned to San Antonio and took the road across the peninsula to Todos Santos. Halleck wrote:

On leaving the valley of San Antonio we ascended into the mining district, and at 9 o'clock halted for breakfast at a rancho in the Arroya Honda. The whole of this district is extremely barren . . . scarcely enough grass to feed our horses. Nevertheless the cattle were in excellent condition, and we were able to get two or three fat bullocks for our men. At one o'clock we resumed the march . . . across rolling countryside thickly covered with small trees. At dark we bivouaced near a rancho on the Arroya de la Muella . . . about 24 miles from San Antonio, we had travelled today about 30 miles. . . . Most of our horses were ready to give out, and the men threw themselves on the ground and instantly fell asleep. . . . The roads we had travelled over the mountains were mere paths, and much of the way . . . we had come through arroyas or dry river beds, where the sand, or terra perdida as it is called, was ankle deep. The sun has been excessive and watering places are 15 or 20 miles apart; moreover it has been impossible to procure pack mules for carrying anything but hard bread for the march . . . and each unmounted soldier—and we still had 90 or so without horses—was compelled to carry on his back in addition to his arms and accoutre-

ments, his knapsack, blanket and canteen of water. For old soldiers this forced march would not have been a difficult one, but with our men it was pretty severe. . . .

March 30th. As the success of the expedition was dependent upon rapid movements, our men, notwithstanding their fatigue, were ordered to march this morning by 4 o'clock. It was, however, no easy matter to get them in motion. . . . We were determined to reach the Mission before the enemy could learn of our intentions. . . .

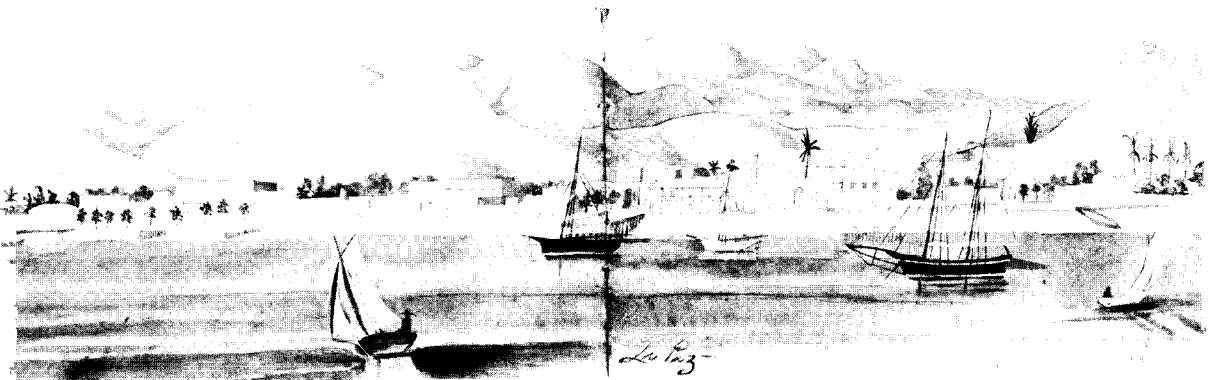
A party of forty-five mounted men were now detailed to cut the coast road some miles north of Todos Santos, and as this road is much longer than that taken by the infantry, it was supposed that the two would reach the Mission about the same time. If the main body of the enemy should take the coast road it was expected that our cavalry would be able to hold them in check till we could reach them with our infantry. The affair turned out precisely as we had anticipated. The enemy, seeing the dust raised by our cavalry north of the town mistook it for our main body, and took the main road from the Mission to the Arroya de la Muella from which our infantry were marching. They encountered our advance guard . . . and posted themselves on a high hill commanding the road ready to receive our attack. . . .

Early the following morning we sent our small parties to collect provisions and to secure horses; and in the afternoon a party of fifty men was sent along the road to Magdalena Bay in pursuit of a body of Yaquis [the insurgents' Indian allies]. . . . The main body of our troops remained several days at Todos Santos hunting out small parties of the enemy . . . and collecting horses from neighboring ranchos. On the morning of the 5th [April] they commenced the return march to La Paz taking the road by Arroya Honda and the Vanillos. . . .

At 6 o'clock the same morning I started with 25 mounted men for San José in order to clear the roads of any guerrillas that might be found in that direction. . . . After a hard days ride we encamped for the night near the plain of La Mesa and here found grass for our horses but no water. . . . The whole country was parched and where we had crossed fine mountain streams last November, we found only dry arroyas. The next morning we captured a number of guerrillas. . . . We reached San José about sundown, having ridden nearly 90 miles within the last two days. We remained at San José for a day to rest our exhausted mounts . . . and met up with Lieut. Selden with a party of sailors and marines. They had just returned from Santiago with 30 prisoners, having reached that place in time to meet some of the enemy force as it fled across the mountains from the field of Todos Santos. . . . They had surrendered without a fight.

Halleck's party left San José on April 8 for La Paz, accompanied as far as San-

On his return from Mazatlán in February, 1848, Halleck reported that "the peninsula was still in an unsettled state" and that "guerrilla parties still hung about La Paz," a beautiful harbor town of white adobe houses, painted in 1869 by William H. Hilton.



tiago by Passed Midshipman McRae and a party of sailors. Halleck describes the country in great detail, particularly its arability. "A fertile little valley occupied with vegetable gardens and little fields of sugar cane . . . the water courses are ornamented with orange trees." The people along the way and at Santiago treated them with great kindness and supplied them with food. "All seemed perfectly disgusted with Mexican rule," Halleck noted with some satisfaction, "and expressed themselves delighted with the change, and particularly pleased with the prospect of our retaining possession of the country." Leaving Santiago, Halleck continued:

April 9th. The first few miles out of Santiago our road lay in the dry bed of what once was a river. . . . At 10 o'clock we struck the coast at La Playa de la Palma; after resting for a couple of hours near this beach, we ascended to the Río de los Charros whose narrow valley was bordered on both sides by lofty mountains. Not a breath of air was stirring and the rays of the sun, being reflected by the white sand of the river bed and the grey sides of the barren mountains, made the heat almost unbearable. . . . The dazzling brightness of the sun compelled our men to veil their eyes with their pocket handkerchiefs. At 6 o'clock we reached the valley of Los Charros where the alcalde killed a cow for us and prepared to entertain us in the homely but hospitable style of the country. . . . He fed us with plenty of aguardiente, tortillas and beef, and gave us dry hides upon which to spread our blankets. Few Californian rancheros have anything more to offer; but the kindness and true hospitality with which it is given make it more acceptable than the most sumptuous entertainment in more wealthy countries. . . ."

Halleck's journal ends with a series of disjointed notes following this April 9 entry regarding his proposed return to La Paz with his twenty-five men after a sweep of the country which began at Todos Santos on the west coast of the Baja Peninsula and carried him through San José. He communicated with Commander Selfridge of the sloop *Cyane* and arrived back at La Paz on April 11 with ten prisoners. On April 12 he penned a 3,500-word report to Colonel Mason, commanding officer of the Tenth Military Department, on "The Reconnaissance of the Coast of California, with reference to the location of works of military defense. . . ." The interesting, three-part report covers every possible subject, including defense, which might involve the future of the area if Baja California would be ceded to the United States in a treaty of peace with Mexico.

In May, 1848, Commodore Shubrick wrote to Colonel Mason and reported the end of the Lower California campaign. Anticipating the ratification of the treaty of peace with Mexico momentarily, he instructed Halleck to proceed to Monterey on the storeship *Southampton* with all the captured papers, the captured flags, and none other than the prisoner Gabriel González and his son Villaino. Accordingly, Halleck returned to Monterey in June, 1848, where he resumed his duties as secretary of state of the Territory of California.

While Halleck's unfinished journal contains no indication of his reflections on the Baja campaign nor of his own role in significant skirmishes, Burton's dispatches to the assistant adjutant general of the Tenth Military Department, Lieutenant William T. Sherman, particularly commend Halleck's lively attack on San Antonio on March 27 (his second attack on the town and one to which he refers only casually in his journal) which resulted in the capture of the wily in-

surrectionist leader Pineda. Burton also describes the attack on Todos Santos on March 30–31 “when Companies A and B under the direction of Lieut. Halleck were deployed as skirmishers in such a manner as to expose the enemy to a cross-fire. . . .” Continuing, Burton declared: “My warmest thanks are due to Lieut. Halleck for his assistance as Chief of Staff, and I present him particularly to the notice of the colonel commanding [Mason] for the able manner in which he led the attack on the 30th ultimo [March].” Again, Halleck hardly mentions this final battle at Todos Santos and characteristically gives the impression that he was little more than an observer.

Although the fighting in Baja California was many times bloodier than that in the northern province, the war was not won in either California but by the victories of Generals Taylor and Scott in eastern Mexico. The peace treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo disregarded the American victories in Baja California, the pronouncements of American officers, and the sympathies of many Baja Californians as apprised by Halleck. It confirmed the American possession of the Southwest and in Alta California but restored the province of Baja to Mexico. Halleck’s efforts were recognized in Washington, D.C., however, in the form of promotion back-dated to May 1, 1847, addressed “To Brevet Captain for gallant conduct in affairs with the enemy . . . and for meritorious service in California. . . .”

THE PORTRAIT of Halleck is courtesy California Historical Society; the map courtesy California State Archives. The Meyers’ water color on page 227 is from *Sketches of California and Hawaii by . . . Meyers . . . 1842–43* (San Francisco, 1970); those on pages 230–31, 234, and 235 are from *Naval Sketches on the War in California . . .* (New York, 1939). The Mazatlán engraving is from *Gleason’s Drawing Room Companion*, May 17, 1851, and the water color on page 242 is from William H. Hilton’s *Sketches in the Southwest and Mexico, 1858–1877* (Los Angeles, 1963) courtesy the Huntington Library, San Marino.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources:

- “Memorandum of Captain Halleck. . . .” Halleck, Peachy & Billings Papers, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
 United States Congress, House of Representatives, *Executive Document #60*, 30 Congress, 1 session.
 United States Congress, Senate, *Executive Document #31*, 30 Congress, 2 session.
 United States Congress, House of Representatives, *Executive Document #17*, 31 Congress, 1 session.
 Microfilm Records of the Tenth Military Department, National Archives, RG 393.
 John Gallagher, “Personal Reminiscences of the War in Upper and Lower California between the American and California Troops,” in Honoria Tuomey, *History of Sonoma County*, vol. 1 (San Francisco, 1926).

Secondary Sources:

- Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, vol. 5.
 Jack Bauer, *Surfboats and Horse Marines* (Naval Institute, 1969).
 John W. Caughy, *California: A Remarkable State’s Life History* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970).
 William T. Sherman, *Memoirs*, vol. 1 (New York, 1875).
 Cullum’s *Biographical Register of United States Military Academy’s Officers and Graduates* (3rd Edition, 1890).

The Steam Beer Handicap: Chris Buckley and the San Francisco Municipal Election of 1896

WILLIAM A. BULLOUGH

*Associate professor of history,
California State University, Hayward*

WHEN CHRISTOPHER AUGUSTINE BUCKLEY, San Francisco's Democratic party boss of the 1880's, recalled the golden era of his career, he insisted that 1890 marked his final sortie into the active political fray and that the subsequent three decades were passed "mainly as a farmer in the beautiful Livermore valley and always as a private citizen."¹ The Boss, however, recalled his retirement with something less than candor or with less than perfect memory. Political inactivity and bucolic retreat to the acres of vineyards across San Francisco Bay at "Ravenswood" neither appealed to his dynamic personality, satiated his appetite for political activity, nor characterized his conduct in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Except for a three-year period of absence from the city (1891-1894), he was always indirectly involved in politics, and he made at least one more overt and energetic effort to reassert influence and regain status in San Francisco and California politics. The Boss chose to make his comeback bid in 1896, a most unusual and complex year in both national and local affairs.

National issues permeated the rhetoric of the local contest: the Panic of 1893 and the gold drain, expansive industrialism and its regulation, Populism and the silver question, overseas expansion and the tariff, urban-rural tensions and the strains of modernism.² Specific points of local contention added both sound and fury: charter revision, Oriental exclusion, the railroad funding issue,³ municipal ownership of utilities, woman suffrage, bossism and corruption, the anti-Catholic American Protective Association, internecine partisan warfare, and even an appeal to the city's newest organized political bloc, bicycle riders or "wheelmen." Before the campaign reached its climax, factionalism had shattered both major parties, and no fewer than eleven full or partial tickets had appeared in the field.⁴ For the history of municipal politics in San Francisco, however, 1896 had even more explicit significance. It was a pivotal year, one marking the origins of a transition from the era of the saloon-boss to an age of businesslike management in urban affairs. To be sure, charter revision, the question which the city's better citizens considered fundamental, only concerned most San Franciscans sufficiently

to induce half who voted on other candidates and issues to register an opinion. Consequently, like similar efforts in the 1880's and 1890's, the new organic law suffered a narrow defeat. Nevertheless, the individual most closely associated with the reform drive, James D. Phelan, captured the office of mayor handily. Within two years Phelan brought San Francisco to its rightful place in the ranks of major American cities with a modern, efficient, businesslike, and hopefully non-partisan municipal charter. Clearly, then, political currents on the Bay were shifting in 1896. Boss Chris Buckley, however, attempted to reverse the tide in that election year with traditional tactics and forays into Democratic and Populist politics, efforts which local journalists dubbed the "steam beer handicap."⁵

The precise motives which impelled Buckley to post his colors in what must have been an obviously overmatched sweepstakes are by no means clear. Certainly, however, he was no political neophyte unaware of the nature of the contest. On the contrary, early associations, a thorough apprenticeship, and decades of public life had keenly honed his sensitivity to the currents of political change. With his Irish immigrant parents, the young Chris Buckley spent the 1850's in New York City's notorious Fourteenth Ward, the spawning ground for such future Tammany Hall luminaries as Richard Croker and "Honest John" Kelly. However, true initiation into the rites and intricacies of municipal politics commenced only with his arrival in San Francisco in 1862 at age seventeen. There he purportedly placed himself behind the bar of a Montgomery Street saloon and under the tutelage of Republican party boss William Higgins. Later in the 1860's, residence in Vallejo and the vast patronage potential of the town's United States Navy Yard completed his political grooming. Upon returning to San Francisco, Buckley opportunely switched his allegiance to reorganize the city's Democracy after the Kearneyite sand-lot debacle of the 1870's and established himself as boss—a position, he asserted, thrust upon him by the most respected local Democrats.⁶

Throughout the 1880's, despite blindness, the Boss maintained political authority through persistent involvement with leaders and movements in the city and the state. In fact, he transformed his tragic physical handicap into a political asset, developing the uncanny ability to recognize individuals by voice, handclasp, or even footfall and a memory which facilitated resumption of long-interrupted conversations. Such cultivated talents, along with innate gifts of intellect and personal charm, permitted Buckley an intimate familiarity with the kaleidoscope of municipal affairs, and affiliation with railroad and other business interests extended his influence from the Board of Supervisors to the public schools, the waterfront, the underworld, and even the state government. Holding no elective office in his own right, the Blind Boss nevertheless remained the power behind the throne in San Francisco politics for a decade and a factor in California and local statecraft for nearly a quarter of a century.⁷

Thus, when Buckley went to the post in 1896, it must have been with acute awareness of altered urban conditions and the length of the odds against him. Still, he entered the race and ran it as if intending to claim the entire purse—both its power and its plunder. The Boss was hardly averse to the monetary rewards of political sweepstakes; on his death he left an estate of nearly one million dollars,⁸ surely more than the yield of profitable viticulture. As Buckley himself put it, "I had opportunities—certainties, I might say," in both business and politics.⁹



Smoking the urban boss's proverbial stogey is San Francisco's version of the Tammany Tiger who proclaims, "Wow! I own the town." Labeled "The Push" after the name given Buckley's loyal and aggressive supporters, the tiger self-satisfiedly sips a mug of steam beer before the municipal election dubbed the "steam beer handicap." Swinnerton was a well-known cartoonist of the period. San Francisco Examiner, September 28, 1896.

Conceivably, opportunities and certainties—involving patronage, power, and possibly cash—may have presented themselves and motivated entry into the steam beer handicap, not as a stakes contender but as a stalking horse.

Rumors abounded in San Francisco in late August, 1896, and one of them involved the Democratic boss and sugar heir John D. Spreckels, a Republican now uncertain of his position in the inner circles of the party. When newspapers revealed clandestine Savoy Hotel meetings with the Boss, speculation concerning their purposes proliferated. Spreckels had ambitions to place Samuel M. Shortridge in the United States Senate, perhaps to promote sugar tariff interests, and a Buckley legislative ticket in the field might well split Democratic voters and insure a Republican state legislature. Should a few Democrats actually win, their votes also could be pledged to Shortridge's candidacy.¹⁰ More directly, the Boss could employ time-honored methods and the muscle of his "Lambs" to control Republican primaries and give Spreckels the necessary delegates at his party's municipal convention.¹¹ Precisely what the transaction might have held for Buckley never clearly emerged. Perhaps Spreckels pledged the power to distribute state and local patronage. Or perhaps it involved something more substantial for, as the Boss admitted, "I placed a stiff value on my services and always rated

myself as a high-priced man.”¹² In any case, developments supported such suppositions. Buckley adherents not only joined but also organized Spreckels Clubs throughout the city, and the Boss himself busily “met hundreds of men in his Ellis-street headquarters.”¹³ Indeed, these new and more sumptuous accommodations—coincidentally in the Spreckels Building—did little to allay suspicion of collusion. In mid-July, Buckley’s organization had been so destitute that electric light service to its Occidental Club rooms had been terminated for the second time in three months, and the Lambs were using coal-oil lamps, “both cheap and good,” for light. One week later, they installed themselves on Ellis Street.¹⁴ Such circumstantial evidence constitutes something less than proof of conspiracy, yet to San Franciscans of the period, it did suggest possible and plausible reasons for the Blind Boss’ renewed interest in politics.

If rumored dealings with Spreckels and Shortridge offer no conclusive explanation for Buckley’s activity in 1896, neither do hints of possible involvement with a second would-be United States senator, the Populist Thomas Vincent Cator. Fusion with sympathetic candidates of other parties had been a tactic constantly debated in Populist circles. Early in September, 1896, Cator circulated a letter suggesting possible arrangements with Democratic candidates in California. Indeed, the document implied authority from the Populist State Central Committee permitting Cator to strike bargains: Populist support for congenial municipal and judicial candidates in exchange for legislative commitment to Cator’s campaign for the Senate.¹⁵ A political veteran like Buckley could hardly miss the potential for patronage—if not for plunder—in such an alliance. However, any connection between the Boss and the Populist remains largely in the realm of conjecture. Only subsequent events at the Populist municipal convention provided substance. Pleading business commitments, Cator absented himself from the floor on the night that the most prominent Populist mayoral candidate, Taylor Rogers, declined the nomination. Cator’s own candidate, “simon pure Populist” Dr. Jerome A. Anderson, went down to defeat, and Buckleyite Supervisor Joseph I. Dimond won the People’s party endorsement.¹⁶ The realities of the arrangement which events implied and Populists suspected remains an enigma. Still, Dimond’s victory and those of numerous other Lambs at the Populist municipal convention was certainly neither accidental nor inconceivable as an explanation for Buckley’s political activity.

Nor was still another possibility which the Boss himself suggests in his memoirs. His 1896 coterie may have constituted the kind of “piece club” made possible by unregulated and lawless primary elections. Under the old system,

any group of cheap skates could assemble in a back room, create a sham party with a high-sounding name, and claim to have four or five thousand voters. . . . With this for an asset, the head manipulators could sally forth and mace candidates of the regular parties out of large sums of money for nominations or endorsements.¹⁷

If the Blind Boss’ organization was indeed a piece club, it was to be a grand one, claiming not four or five thousand adherents but twenty thousand.¹⁸

Alleged complicity with Spreckels and Cator or the possibility of a magnificent piece club furnish only hints concerning Buckley’s return to politics in 1896; they supply no definitive answers. Nor does further speculation regarding the nature

of the man himself. From the late 1860's until 1890, Buckley had been actively and intimately involved with San Francisco and its politics. Politics had, by his own account,¹⁹ occupied most of his time and nearly all of his energies. Indeed, Buckley was committed to the city. In a rare instance of candor, he remarked, "From the moment I landed [in San Francisco], . . . I have loved the old town and its people, and love both still. It is the only place on earth that seems like home to me."²⁰ As a man, the Blind Boss was urban if not urbane, and it is hardly likely that life in the vineyards could long satisfy him or absorb his energies. Without venturing too far into the often precarious field of post-mortem psychological and behavioral analysis, it is possible to suggest that the excitement of the thing, as much as any other factor, motivated Buckley's activities in 1896.

Although his precise purposes remain elusive, the decision to enter the race was anything but impulsive. Indeed, as early as March, elements of an organization—variously called the "Buckley Democrats," the "Occidental Club" Democracy, or "Buckley's Business Men"²¹—had begun to appear, claiming to represent the party in San Francisco and determined to secure county recognition and seats at the State Democratic Convention in June. Though journalists treated the activities rather facetiously, the Boss' cadres went about the business of campaign organization deliberately and sustained their efforts until the election in November. The municipal campaign of 1896, however, would be no easy contest for the Boss or his followers. Buckley had absented himself from the city between 1891 and 1894, avoiding grand jury indictment and leaving behind a substantial cohort of Lambs who were still active in local politics.²² Without the Boss' guidance, however, they suffered a severe drubbing at the hands of Gavin McNab and his reform Democrats in the primary elections of 1892.²³ When Buckley returned to San Francisco in 1894, he was too late and under too dense a cloud to participate in that year's municipal contest.

The general election of 1896, however, would be another story. Early in the year, the Boss' Occidental Club headquarters became the scene of visibly increased activity and attracted well-known remnants of the old South-of-Market-Street "push," the "boys of the bejasus order, . . . who rivaled Orpheus on the concertina, who chanted that most moving of all songs, 'Big Horse, I Love You,' in one breath and unlimbered their awful battlecry in the next."²⁴ These experts at stuffing ballot boxes and intimidating voters included ex-prizefighter Aleck Greggains, state senator M. J. "Pickle" Donovan, perennial candidate Tom Egan, the "boy orator of Tar Flat," and a host of others.²⁵ A new element, however, rallied to Buckley's standard, not only to lead the push but also to add an aura of respectability. In this group, derisively christened "Buckley's Business Men" by a hostile press,²⁶ appeared former and incumbent state and local officials, attorneys, merchants, contractors, speculators, insurance agents, and several physicians. To be sure, ties to the Blind Boss and the salad days of the 1880's abounded. But by 1896, affluence had placed many of the new Buckley leadership among the gentlemen of property and standing in the community, even in the eyes of an unfriendly editor.²⁷

Though the campaign would ultimately prove to be a study in frustration for both elements of the Boss' party, they commenced their effort in a spirit of confidence, gravity, and determination and prepared for what must have been an



BUCKLEY WOULD NOW A FARMER BE.

Swinerton sketched Buckley in farmers' clothes as a two-edged comment on his "ranching" in Livermore and his pre-election involvement of expediency with the Populist party. Examiner, October 2, 1896.

The career of Christopher Augustine Buckley, San Francisco Democratic party boss of the 1880's, became a casualty of the late-nineteenth century Progressive municipal reform movement.



obviously uphill struggle toward two principal goals: immediate recognition as the official wing of the party in San Francisco and seating at the State Democratic Convention in June. An executive council, five delegates from each assembly district in the city under the chairmanship of attorney Joseph Rothschild, gathered in Odd Fellows Hall on the evening of March 11 to organize for the first objective, the formidable task of unseating Gavin McNab's "Junta" Democracy,²⁸ as city newspapers had labeled it. Strategy involved a direct appeal to the party State Central Committee, scheduled to meet in the city on March 14. Even before that body arrived, however, it became apparent that little hope existed for Buckley's success. Neither San Francisco's committee members nor those from rural counties had disguised their hostility toward Buckley or their determination to repudiate bossism. When the central committee rendered its decision, therefore, the outcome surprised no one. Unimpressed by pleas of legitimacy and longevity delivered by Buckleyite spokesmen Reel B. Terry and James C. Nealon, the committee denounced the Blind Boss and sanctioned McNab's faction by a vote of sixty-one to seven.²⁹

Unintimidated, the Lambs spent the period from mid-March through May girding up for a vigorous assault on their second objective: the state convention. They regrouped, formulated policy statements, denounced the state committee's action, challenged its authority in local party matters, and resolved to hold primary elections in defiance of its decision.³⁰ By the end of April, Buckley's Business Men had set dates for primaries and appointed committees to conduct their campaign.³¹ Activity intensified in May when Senator Donovan and Chairman Rothschild organized party primaries to name a reliable delegation to the state convention, one which would block the selection of Frank Gould of Stockton to chair the state meeting. Reflecting his own ire at Gould's actions as chairman of the central committee which had denounced him,³² Buckley also acted vigorously toward the same end. Announcing his intention to fight the central committee in the courts, he took his personal fight to Southern California where he allegedly plotted with railroad interests, the Liquor Dealers Association, and American Protective Association Democrats to rig the Los Angeles delegation in his favor. Simultaneously, the press placed the Boss' agents in Alameda, Contra Costa, Solano, and San Joaquin counties, all for similar purposes.³³

Though the campaign was a matter of extreme seriousness to the Buckleyites, neither rival politicians nor local journalists could view their activities with equal gravity. Gavin McNab, for example, confronted with Rothschild's claim of twenty thousand supporters on the eve of the Buckley primary, wryly expressed "astonishment at his moderation, paper and ink being so cheap."³⁴ After the primaries had taken place, an *Examiner* reporter, obviously amused, observed that "the legitimate vote cast in the various districts was light," frequently less than the number of delegates chosen.³⁵ In a similar tone, the *Chronicle* expressed wonder and amazement at the frantic activity of the "once celebrated but now third-rate 'push'," when even its leaders seemed confused about the actual purposes of their efforts.³⁶ Through it all, however, the Boss himself remained taciturn, always in the background and never providing enlightenment, if indeed he could.

Nevertheless, efforts persisted and intensified, despite derision and clear indications that no Buckley delegation, no matter how energetic or how constituted,

could anticipate recognition at the convention. As had been the case at the central committee meeting, nominees to the state convention—from the city and rural counties alike—expressed open hostility. Indeed, both Frank Gould's selection and Buckley's rejection were virtually assured two weeks before delegates gathered in Sacramento, even without San Francisco's disputed votes.³⁷ Still, the Boss' executive committee ignored the obvious and proceeded as if victory were at hand. Caucusing behind closed doors, the Lambs planned to dispatch circulars—including one signed by "Billy the Bum"—throughout the state, proclaiming legitimacy and demanding support.³⁸ As the convention neared, meetings increased in frequency (though not in decorum), and the party lined up on the issues: for free silver, against railroad funding, behind Oriental exclusion, and in support of established Democratic candidates.³⁹ The show of "regularity," however, would profit them little in Sacramento.

Plagued by dissension in the ranks and by diminishing resources, Buckley's delegation made its way to the state convention, some by train and the less affluent members of the push in wagons provided by a sympathetic contractor⁴⁰—only to be denied seats. To be sure, the Lambs did bluff and bluster past a superannuated doorkeeper and occupy seats assigned to the San Francisco delegation in a boisterous effort to subvert Gould's election and gain recognition,⁴¹ but the invasion only delayed the inevitable. Gould won the chairmanship and appointed a credentials committee which, when it met, summarily rejected the Buckley delegation.⁴² The result was precisely what the Boss must have known it would be, a second defeat in just three months. With little purpose to be served by remaining in Sacramento, he led his disgruntled Lambs—by rail and by cart—back to San Francisco.

Thus, the first phase of Buckley's campaign closed and the second opened simultaneously with the retreat from the state convention. Disappointment there, however, diminished neither the determination of the Lambs nor that of their leader. Indeed, the Boss lost little time in proclaiming his intention to remain in the contest and threatening to take complaints concerning his rejection not only to the courts but also to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.⁴³ Moreover, his lieutenants refused to let the spirit of the push wane. On the evening of June 23, less than one week after the debacle in Sacramento, nearly four hundred of the faithful gathered in B'nai B'rith Hall to denounce the state convention's action. To the vociferous response of assembled Lambs, delegates to the state meeting, including Railroad Commissioner Dr. James I. Stanton, characterized their treatment as rigged from the very outset. Furthermore, Buckleyites again proclaimed their determination to defy the party and field a separate slate of legislative nominees, a decision which precipitated the initial rumors of collusion with Spreckels.⁴⁴

Following an interlude devoid of overt activity, a second mass meeting, complete with bonfires, pageantry, rhetoric, and visiting feminist Susan B. Anthony, assembled on the evening of July 11 to ratify the outcome of the Democratic National Convention.⁴⁵ Such celebrations may have maintained the enthusiasm of local supporters, but they had little impact on the power structure of the state party. When Democrats announced the composition of the executive committee chosen to guide campaign affairs in California, the roster included no Buckleyites.

Indeed, all San Francisco representatives were "Junta" Democrats, including Gavin McNab.⁴⁶ The action was an obvious reiteration of the stand taken by the central committee and the state convention. In addition, it also soon became apparent that the Lambs were to be deprived in a matter closer to home: the distribution of patronage involved in selecting local election precinct officials. A series of unharmonious and frequently agitated meetings of the San Francisco Election Commission systematically excluded the Boss's organization from participation, despite Buckley's demand for recognition and a division of the patronage. Only one election commissioner, Mayor Adolph Sutro, supported the Boss, and his attitude prompted Commissioner William Broderick to pronounce the mayor "a windbag and a faker" at a particularly disorderly session.⁴⁷ Sutro's defense notwithstanding, the "Junta" prevailed once again and received authority to name all Democratic precinct officials in the city.⁴⁸ The Blind Boss could only protest and add one more to his lengthening list of defeats.

Still, with the exception of perfunctory denunciations of Democratic election commissioners, especially Broderick,⁴⁹ Buckley and his followers proceeded as if nothing were amiss. Assuming the title "Regular Democratic Party," the Boss's executive committee assembled at headquarters, now in the Spreckels Building, to lay plans for primary elections and a municipal convention, each to be the earliest (to permit an anticipated court test) and the largest of the local campaign.⁵⁰ Regular Democrats would select 450 delegates to the contest's first municipal convention.⁵¹ While awaiting those momentous events, the Lambs organized district clubs, contemplated fusion with sympathetic Populists, and nominated a full slate of legislative candidates.⁵² To the apparent surprise and perhaps disappointment of local journalists, the primaries on September 1 produced just one minor incident. Partisans of rival candidates in the seventeenth senatorial district expelled poll-watchers and "proceeded to use up all the ballots on hand" in support of their respective favorites.⁵³ It was hardly the Buckley primary of old.

Nor were the meetings of the Buckley convention in B'nai B'rith Hall to be reminiscent of the 1880's, though waggish newspapermen could not resist allusions to the quiet night which city police experienced on the streets during the first gathering on September 3. Inside, after a flurry of activity as delegates mustered support for special interests, the convention settled down to business. Even the selection of James C. Nealon as chairman over Buckley's own favorite produced only a murmur. Still more smoothly, Dan Reardon became convention secretary on the basis of his popularity with delegates. After all, he explained to a reporter, "didn't I arrest half of thim [*sic*] when I was on the police force and convict none. . .?"⁵⁴ Following the disposition of such preliminaries, the convention moved swiftly and predictably, almost as if programmed. Indeed, the credentials committee required but fifteen minutes to certify all 450 delegates.⁵⁵

The September 5 meeting, however, showed signs of vitality—and provided more grist for the journalistic humor mill—when it "resolved itself into bedlam twice and there was one fight" between supporters of hopeful nominees. The altercation only demonstrated "some slight indications of Democratic life" and subsided quickly when Chairman Nealon appointed "ten well-known scrappers . . . to lend some dignity to the proceedings."⁵⁶ Once the scrappers had restored order, delegates adopted their platform with a minimum of disturbance. catcalls

at the woman-suffrage plank and facetious remarks about a provision calling for the treatment of bicycles as baggage on the railways.⁵⁷ Despite the relative decorum and the apparent gravity of delegates, most reporters refused to take them seriously. Indeed, it was the nomination of "political gelding" Supervisor Joseph I. Dimond to head the ticket, after his "trainer" and "jockey" had pronounced him "fit to run from a policeman," which inspired the "steam beer handicap" metaphor.⁵⁸ Mayoral candidate Dimond was, to be sure, a relative unknown in local politics.⁵⁹ However, delegates to the Buckley convention nominated him unanimously and, at subsequent sessions, uneventfully completed their task, naming a full slate of municipal candidates to run on the Regular Democratic ticket. Only a few minor conflicts emerged, most to be settled by the Boss himself.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, journalists could not resist final comment on the number of "O's" and "Mc's" on the ticket, and on the disappearance of Dimond, about whom "word has gone out that Buckley has him chained up in his backyard at Livermore."⁶¹

Though reporters deprecated Buckleyite efforts, both the Boss and his followers pursued their goal steadfastly, as responses to subsequent developments indicate. Almost simultaneously, the Regular Democrats adjourned their convention and two significant crises confronted the party: state supreme court rulings that county officials were not to run for office in 1896 and that the Buckley nominees were ineligible to appear on the official ballot. On September 16, the high court handed down its interpretation of an 1893 legislative act extending the terms of all county officials elected in 1894 to four years.⁶² In San Francisco, where the Consolidation Act of 1856 combined numerous city and county offices, the ruling had particular significance.⁶³ However, since the decision affected all parties equally, it did not represent a great loss to the Boss's forces, except for the potential patronage involved. In any case, Buckley chose to ignore the court and place his entire slate of city and county candidates in the field.⁶⁴

The second setback would prove more substantial. Indeed, the city registrar of voters refused to include the Regular Democratic ticket on the official ballot, citing lack of recognition by the state party as his justification. The Boss responded, first with writ of mandate to compel the registrar to place the disputed candidates on the ballot with the word "Democrat" following each name, and then with a special suit on behalf of his candidate for superintendent of streets.⁶⁵ After a month's delay, the supreme court decided against Buckley's party,⁶⁶ a ruling which the Boss had apparently anticipated with careful preparation. On October 10, the evening following the decision, the party reassembled to ratify its entire ticket,⁶⁷ and the morning of October 11 found the streets swarming with Lambs circulating petitions for a new organization, the Anti-Charter Democratic party, which proclaimed Jeffersonian principles, opposition to the proposed charter, and adherence to the tenets of the now-defunct Regular Democratic party platform.⁶⁸ Determination to stay in the race characterized the effort, and it paid dividends. By October 17, the new party had sufficient signatures to insure its place on the ballot.⁶⁹

Buckley, however, left little to chance. He had prepared for the contingency that the petition drive might fail by opening the third and perhaps most incongruous phase of his campaign even before the second had closed. The Blind Boss and his Lambs infiltrated the San Francisco People's party.

Populism had retained some strength in California, and the party commenced preparation for the 1896 campaign early in the spring.⁷⁰ In the city itself, the Populist central committee organized for primary elections and a mid-September municipal convention to be held in a giant tent at Martin and Larkin streets.⁷¹ Opposition to the proposed municipal charter, later attributed to Buckley's influence, emerged as a major point of contention at preliminary Populist meetings.⁷² However, fusion persisted as the most significant and potentially divisive issue. After a joint Democratic-Populist committee on fusion had collapsed in failure, the People's party resolved to appoint its own committee to approach congenial candidates individually, to arrange suitable bargains, and to promote the senatorial candidacy of Thomas V. Cator.⁷³ Despite the committee's effort, the San Francisco party, unlike its counterpart in Oakland across the Bay, failed to implement fusion, rejected the tactic as impracticable, and elected to support individual candidates loyal to Bryan and to silver.⁷⁴

Nevertheless, fusion would characterize the Populists' municipal ticket, but neither as they anticipated it nor on their terms. The People's party had little cohesiveness or consistency in the city, and Buckley skillfully capitalized upon its weaknesses. In numerous districts which lacked organizational strength, Anti-Charter Democrats entered and won Populist municipal convention primaries, assuring the Blind Boss of forty-three of approximately one hundred delegates.⁷⁵ When general sessions opened in the last days of September, both the Boss's strength and his intent became all too clear. Not only duly-elected Buckley delegates but also the rank and file of the push invaded the floor and gallery of the convention tent, suggesting a conquest and prompting one regular delegate to comment on the multitude of "strange faces which I see for the first time in a Populist convention."⁷⁶ The implications of the invasion were obvious, but just as clearly, little could be done to forestall them.

But the inevitable did not occur immediately. At early sessions of the convention, confusion—possibly the consequence of the Lambs' presence—resulted in a decision to postpone nominations until an investigative committee could report on proposed candidates, including a host of Buckley men.⁷⁷ While they awaited the report, Populists formulated and adopted a clearly reformist municipal platform, one which had little in common with the Anti-Charter Democrats' program.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, submission of the investigation committee's report on the evening of September 28 precipitated a deluge of Buckleyite nominations which would continue for three subsequent meetings.⁷⁹ Through it all, Buckley remained in the Populist tent, consistently in the background but still making his presence felt. Messengers carried orders to and fro, directing both nominations and balloting. Indeed, had the Boss's emissaries been more reliable, he might have won more than he did, but errors were costly. One agent, for example, scurried about the tent whispering "Buck says Spinetti don't go [for police court judge]," not only to Lamb delegates but also to ideologically committed Populist Burnett G. Haskell who protested indignantly and disrupted convention proceedings. Spinetti ultimately did go, as did Haskell, also a candidate for police court judge nomination.⁸⁰ But so, too, did a pair of Buckley's choices,⁸¹ and that pattern would remain consistent throughout the remainder of the convention. Over Populist protests, Anti-Charter Democrats captured 60 per cent of the places on the People's party municipal ticket, including Dimond's



Martin Kelly, Buckley's counterpart and contemporary, became the butt of cartoons in the election of 1898, evidence of the change in political climate which had rejected Buckley in the municipal election two years earlier. Examiner, November 3, 1898.

nomination for mayor by a vote of seventy-four to thirty.⁸² Some of the Boss's cohorts won by acclamation, others by narrow margins, and still others lost.⁸³ But in the long run, the strength of the push prevailed, and when Populist executive committee members met to ratify the work of the convention, they affixed their signatures to a slate dominated by Buckley candidates.⁸⁴

Like other parties in the field, the Populists spent the month of October in vigorous campaigning. Full-column appeals for the entire People's party ticket—including Buckleyite candidates—appeared regularly in October issues of San Francisco newspapers. Anti-Charter Democrats, on the other hand, seemed strangely content to allow Populists to bear the burden of their campaign and sponsored only occasional advertisements for individual candidates. Perhaps their reticence implies a deficiency of funds, or perhaps it indicates satisfaction with merely being on the ticket and that the Buckley party was indeed a piece club. In any case, the post-convention campaign was an anti-climax for the Lambs, and previously rumored purposes for their participation in the 1896 contest evaporated quickly. Potential profits from collusion with Spreckels disappeared when Republicans ousted the sugar heir's faction from their municipal convention,⁸⁵ and possible rewards for collaborating in Cator's Senate bid proved just as illusory when the vote was counted.

After a remarkable voter turnout of 90 per cent, throngs of San Franciscans eagerly watched the *Chronicle's* election tally projected on its tower or the *Examiner's* returns on the City of Paris building.⁸⁶ Some of the results displayed

surprised no one. William McKinley won the presidential contest in the city, though only by a margin of 439 votes.⁸⁷ The proposed city charter suffered defeat, but only slightly more than half of those who voted bothered to register an opinion.⁸⁸ Interest in other municipal races, however, ran significantly higher, and virtually every winner—including Mayor-elect James D. Phelan—represented a major party or the Non-Partisan ticket with major party endorsement. School director Thomas R. Carew, the single exception and the sole victorious Buckley-Populist nominee, had the anomalous support of two anti-charter parties plus that of the Non-Partisan movement which sponsored the charter,⁸⁹ perhaps fitting commentary on the entire election as it concerned Buckley and his followers. Few of the remaining Anti-Charter hopefuls, with or without Populist sanction, polled more than 5 to 10 per cent of the votes cast. Nor did Populists running on their own.⁹⁰ The defeat hardly could have been more decisive, but it should not have been unanticipated.

The diversity of the campaign, with its multiplicity of issues, interests, and conflicts, left Buckley without opportunity to exercise effective control. The city, too, had been transformed since the Boss's arrival thirty-four years earlier from a boom town into a cosmopolitan, commercial urban center, and new conditions precipitated and demanded an altered political climate. As Buckley's Republican counterpart, Martin Kelly, later observed, 1896 was a momentous year in San Francisco politics.⁹¹ For the People's party, an important force in the city as late as 1894, strength had waned, and 1896 marked the beginning of the end, if not the end itself.⁹² In municipal government, significant adjustments were already under way. Five years earlier, the state legislature had enacted an Australian ballot law, a measure which Kelly called the "beginning of the change from the ancient order of things" for the city boss. Buckley would surely agree with that assessment.⁹³ Structural changes, however, were not all that Kelly had in mind. As well, he observed, "1896 was also fateful in introducing a new and important character into local politics," James D. Phelan, a wealthy, successful, and apparently incorruptible businessman.⁹⁵

But Phelan himself was not the whole of the fateful change. To be sure, he had been among the staunchest partisans of the defeated municipal charter, and he began organizing a renewed charter drive even before his inauguration.⁹⁶ By manipulating the rules of the political game, Phelan and his supporters did secure approval of a new, centralized, businesslike, strong-mayor charter at a special election in 1898.⁹⁷ Like Phelan, however, that new organic law only symbolized the political change. The reality involved a new mood which both the man and the document epitomized—a shift from the professional politician, the boss, to the professional man in politics—an attitude which emerged not only in San Francisco but also in cities across the nation. Some years later, a nationally-known municipal reformer expressed the new spirit most succinctly: "The city was looked upon as a commercial enterprise, and a solution of its problems was to be found through the election of business men to office" and the application of business principles to city government.⁹⁸ Not that the businessman had entirely supplanted the boss in San Francisco politics in 1896. Martin Kelly and Phil Crimmins both had close ties to Republican candidates, and Buckley's former partner, Sam Ramey, stood high in the councils of the "Junta" Democracy.⁹⁹ In-

deed, their presence precipitated rumors of a cabal of bosses manipulating the entire contest.¹⁰⁰ Nor would bossism disappear from the scene in the near future. Whether or not he was a boss in the traditional sense, Abraham Ruef already stood on the city's political horizon.¹⁰¹ Ruef, however, would adapt to new conditions and professional methods in 1901, as Kelly, Crimmins, Rainey, and even "good boss" Gavin McNab seem to have done in 1896. The Blind Boss would not—or could not—and thereby virtually assured his own defeat.

Buckley unquestionably understood the implications of changed urban conditions. His blindness, after all, did not impair his political acumen. He must have perceived the impact that repeated denunciations by his own party and a vociferously hostile press would have upon his prospects. He must also have known that although collusion with Spreckels or Cator might promise rewards in the form of power, patronage, or even plunder, without victory the promise was empty indeed. Finally, Buckley must have been acutely aware that San Francisco in 1896 was not what it had been in the 1880's and that formidable odds confronted him. Still, the Blind Boss chose not only to enter the race but also to continue in it despite adversity, opposition, and mounting evidence of impending disaster. His persistence suggests that something less tangible than power or material gain prompted his actions. Politics and the city had given meaning to Buckley's life for more than two decades. In the era of the saloon boss the muscle of the push and the processes which scholars have called the "latent functions of the machine"¹⁰² had sufficed to perpetuate power. That in 1896 the Boss clung tenaciously to the politics and methods of the past, despite their obviously diminishing appropriateness and acceptability, implies that something quite elemental and personal impelled him to enter the race on his own terms and run it for his own ends.

Unfortunately, not much more can be said about Buckley. A set of guarded and non-committal memoirs published in the last years of his life provide only the vaguest clues to his motivations, and in them he studiously avoids the campaign of 1896. Whether lust for power and recognition, desire for excitement, ordinary nostalgia, or something even less tangible animated the Blind Boss remains largely speculative. It is clear, however, that the city and its politics had changed in ways he could not or would not adapt; for Christopher A. Buckley—and perhaps for the age of the saloon boss in San Francisco—the steam beer handicap of 1896 was indeed a last hurrah.¹⁰³

THE PORTRAIT of Buckley is from James Young, *Journalism in California* (San Francisco, 1915).

NOTES

1. "Reminiscences of Christopher A. Buckley," *San Francisco Bulletin*, February 4, 1919, p. 13.
2. See, for example, Michael P. Rogin and John L. Shover, *Political Change in California: Critical Elections and Social Movements, 1890-1966* (Westport, Conn., 1970), Chap. 1; Robert Weibe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York, 1962), Chaps. 4-6; Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture* (New York, 1970), chaps. 4-5; Paul W. Glad, *McKinley, Bryan and the People* (New York, 1964), chaps. 1, 2, 4; J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Historian, Presidential Elections, and 1896," *Mid-America*, XLV (July, 1963), 184-192.
3. Original federal subsidies to railroads had been secured by thirty-six-year bonds at 6 per cent interest. In the 1890's, lobbyists in Washington began to press for a funding bill which would

replace original arrangements with ninety-nine-year bonds at .5 per cent interest, a proposal which became a major issue in California politics.

4. San Francisco *Examiner*, October 15, 1896, p. 14. The parties included Republican, Democratic, National Republican, Non-Partisan, Populist, Socialist, Labor-National (Gold) Democratic, Citizen's Republican, Anti-Charter Democratic (Buckley's party), Citizen's Independent (affiliated with the American Protective Association), and Prohibitionist.

5. *Examiner*, September 11, 1896, p. 9.

6. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, December 28, 1918, p. 7.

7. Alexander B. Callow, Jr., "San Francisco's Blind Boss," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXV (August, 1956), pp. 261-265, 268-273, *passim*; Jeremiah Lynch, *Buckleyism: The Government of a State* (San Francisco, 1889), 8-12, 17-24; Edith Dobie, *The Political Career of Stephen Mallory White: A Study of Party Activities under the Convention System* (Stanford, 1927), 19, 34, 41-46, 49, 51, 61, 70, 75, 78, 80, 87-89, 97-98, 104-105, 123-126, 212-215, 233-234; R. Hal Williams, *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880-1896* (Stanford, 1973), 22-24, 101-108, 147-153; William A. Bullough, *Cities and Schools in the Gilded Age: The Evolution of an Urban Institution* (New York, 1975), 61-70; *Examiner*, July 24, 1899, p. 3; April 21, 1922, p. 1; *Bulletin*, April 21, 1922, p. 14; April 22, 1922, p. 14; April 24, 1922, p. 3; San Francisco *Chronicle*, April 21, 1922, p. 1-2, 6; April 25, 1922, p. 8.

Biographical data on the Blind Boss's early years are sketchy, and frequently erroneous. For example, most sources—including scholars, journalists, political enemies, and even obituaries—place his birth in Ireland. He was, in fact, born in New York City in 1845, shortly after the arrival of his immigrant parents. In 1862, he migrated to California with his stonemason father, John Buckley, who previously had made several unsuccessful sojourns to the gold fields. His blindness, which has been attributed to alcohol, was the result of neurological problems, and his early employment at Maguire's Opera House was as a bookkeeper rather than as a bartender. (Christopher A. Buckley, Jr., interviews held in Pebble Beach, California, August 23, September 19, and November 14, 1974).

8. Callow, "Blind Boss," 271.

9. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 28, 1919, p. 8.

10. *Examiner*, August 25, 1896, p. 9.

11. *Examiner*, August 25, p. 9; *Chronicle*, August 21, 1896, p. 13; August 22, 1896, p. 13. The press applied the name "Lambs" to Buckley's followers in the 1880's and revived it again in 1896.

12. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 28, 1919, l. 8.

13. *Examiner*, August 25, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, August 23, 1896, p. 24.

14. *Chronicle*, July 16, 1896, p. 14; July 28, 1896, p. 8; *Examiner*, July 22, 1896, p. 5.

15. *Examiner*, September 13, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, September 12, 1896, p. 7; *Bulletin*, September 18, 1896, p. 2; September 14, 1896, p. 8.

16. *Chronicle*, September 30, 1896, p. 5; October 1, 1896, p. 8; *Examiner*, October 1, 1896, p. 1.

17. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 17, 1919, p. 10.

18. *Chronicle*, May 28, 1896, p. 13.

19. See, for example, Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 28, 1919, p. 8, and "Martin Kelley's Story," *Bulletin*, September 19, 1917, p. 8.

20. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 16, 1919, p. 20.

21. *Chronicle*, March 8, 1896, p. 24. Origins of the titles "Buckley Democrats" and "Occidental Club" Democrats are quite obvious. "Buckley's Business Men" is apparently a derogatory reference to early organizational efforts (October-November, 1895) when Buckley attempted to recapture the Democratic party in San Francisco. Its first specific use is in *Examiner*, November 23, 1895, p. 9, and the press used it freely after that date. There is no evidence that Buckley or his followers applied it to themselves. See below, fn. 24.

22. Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, February 3, 1919, p. 7.

23. "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, October 3, 1917, p. 8; Callow, "Blind Boss," 278.

24. *Chronicle*, March 8, 1896, p. 24; Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, January 8, 1919, p. 10; January 7, 1919, p. 11. Buckley's organizational efforts actually began as early as October, 1895, with an unsuccessful attempt to regain control over the Democratic general committee in the city, an attempt thwarted by Gavin McNab and the emerging "Junta" Democracy. See especially *Examiner*, October 2, 1895, p. 3; October 3, 1895, p. 8; October 7, 1895, p. 8; November 17, 1895, p. 2, November 23, 1895, p. 9.

25. *Examiner*, September 4, 1896, p. 7; September 11, 1896, p. 9.
26. *Examiner*, May 13, 1896, p. 9.
27. *Examiner*, September 5, 1896, p. 6. Among the new leadership were ex-Supervisor Fleet F. Strother, Supervisor Joseph I. Dimond, former Assessor James C. Nealon, former Superior Court Judge Robert Ferral, as well as attorneys Reel B. Terry and Joe Rothschild, railway speculator Behrend Joost, insurance agent Godfrey Fisher, dairyman Joseph Fassler, Drs. James I. Stanton, Thomas B. Bodkin and David B. Todd, hotelman William Fahey, and numerous semi-professionals and businessmen.
28. *Chronicle*, March 9, 1896, p. 10; *Examiner*, March 11, 1896, p. 8.
29. *Examiner*, March 13, 1896, p. 9; March 14, 1896, p. 8; March 15, 1896, p. 11.
30. *Examiner*, March 23, 1896, p. 4; *Chronicle*, March 24, 1896, p. 11; *Bulletin*, May 15, 1896, p. 2.
31. *Examiner*, April 19, 1896, p. 12; April 30, 1896, p. 9; *Bulletin*, May 9, 1896, p. 2.
32. *Examiner*, May 13, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, May 13, 1896, p. 10.
33. *Examiner*, May 17, 1896, p. 4; May 19, 1896, p. 16; May 29, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, June 10, 1896, p. 14; *San Francisco Call*, May 13, 1896, p. 3.
34. *Chronicle*, May 28, 1896, p. 13; *Bulletin*, May 15, 1896, p. 2.
35. *Examiner*, May 29, 1896, p. 8.
36. *Chronicle*, May 29, 1896, p. 9.
37. *Examiner*, May 19, 1896, p. 16; *Chronicle*, May 29, 1896, p. 9; June 1, 1896, p. 12; *Bulletin*, May 9, 1896, p. 2; May 29, 1896, p. 2; June 5, 1896, p. 6; June 10, 1896, p. 6.
38. *Examiner*, June 3, 1896, p. 5; *Chronicle*, June 4, 1896, p. 14.
39. *Chronicle*, June 6, 1896, p. 8; June 11, 1896, p. 10; *Bulletin*, June 8, 1896, p. 5.
40. *Chronicle*, June 6, 1896, p. 8; June 11, 1896, p. 10; *Bulletin*, June 8, 1896, p. 5.
41. *Chronicle*, June 17, 1896, pp. 11–12; *Bulletin*, June 15, 1896, pp. 1, 3; June 16, 1896, p. 1.
42. *Chronicle*, June 18, 1896, p. 11; *Examiner*, June 17, 1896, 2; *Bulletin*, June 17, 1896, p. 1.
43. *Chronicle*, June 21, 1896, p. 32.
44. *Chronicle*, June 24, 1896, p. 13; *Examiner*, June 24, 1896, p. 8.
45. *Chronicle*, July 12, 1896, p. 26.
46. *Chronicle*, July 15, 1896, p. 12; *Examiner*, July 14, 1896, p. 3; *Bulletin*, July 16, 1896, p. 3. San Francisco representatives included McNab, James D. Phelan, A. A. Watkins, Eugene Deuprey, W. P. Sullivan, Max Popper, and Marion Biggs.
47. *Chronicle*, July 16, 1896, p. 13; July 17, 1896, p. 9; July 23, 1896, p. 8; *Examiner*, July 23, 1896, p. 9; *Bulletin*, July 16, 1896, p. 1; July 17, 1896, p. 3; July 18, 1896, p. 2.
48. *Chronicle*, July 24, 1896, p. 10; *Bulletin*, July 30, 1896, p. 1.
49. *Chronicle*, July 29, 1896, p. 12; *Examiner*, July 22, 1896, p. 5; August 4, 1896, p. 5.
50. *Chronicle*, July 29, 1896, p. 8; August 25, 1896, p. 13.
51. *Ibid.* Each of eighteen city assembly districts chose twenty-three convention delegates; two more for each district were selected at large.
52. *Chronicle*, August 4, 1896, p. 8; August 21, 1896, p. 13; *Examiner*, August 4, 1896, p. 5.
53. *Examiner*, September 2, 1896, p. 5.
54. *Examiner*, September 4, 1896, p. 7. Buckley himself favored Charles W. Pope of North Beach district.
55. *Ibid.*; *Chronicle*, September 4, 1896, p. 7; *Bulletin*, September 4, 1896, p. 1.
56. *Chronicle*, September 6, 1896, p. 32; *Examiner*, September 6, 1896, p. 8. There were rumors that the fight had been staged.
57. *Examiner*, September 6, 1896, p. 8. The Buckley platform avowed support for state and national Democratic platforms and candidates, denounced rival local Democratic factions, and outlined its stand on municipal issues: for reduced municipal expenditures and fiscal responsibility, reduced utility rates, efficient public schools, improved streets, and bicycles as baggage; against the American Protective Association and its local campaign to issue teaching certificates only to those educated in California public schools. See *Examiner*, September 6, 1896, p. 8; September 12, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, September 6, 1896, p. 32.
58. *Examiner*, September 11, 1896, p. 9.
59. Dimond's single apparent claim to political fame was his sponsorship of an ordinance limiting unfair transfer policies of the Market Street Railway Company. He was not, however, among

the "solid seven" supervisors under indictment for franchise graft during the campaign. See *Examiner*, May 20, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, May 26, 1896, p. 9; May 27, 1896, p. 7; September 6, 1896, p. 32; *Bulletin*, May 26, 1896, p. 11; July 24, 1896, p. 1; September 5, 1896, p. 5.

60. *Examiner*, September 11, 1896, p. 9; September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 13, 1896, p. 7; *Chronicle*, September 11, 1896, p. 8; *Bulletin*, September 14, 1896, p. 8; September 17, 1896, p. 5.

61. *Examiner*, September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 17, 1896, p. 7. The Regular Democrats nominated a full slate of municipal and county candidates, fifty-one in all. For individual nominees, see *Examiner*, September 6, 1896, p. 8; September 11, 1896, p. 9; September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 13, 1896, p. 7; October 6, 1896, p. 7; *Chronicle*, September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 12, 1896, p. 8; September 13, 1896, p. 32.

62. *Examiner*, September 17, 1896, p. 14; *Bulletin*, August 26, 1896, p. 7.

63. The Consolidation Act of 1856 (the Hawes Act), made the city and county of San Francisco coterminous and combined numerous offices: district attorney, public administrator, sheriff, county clerk, recorder, coroner, assessor, and superintendent of schools. The last named was exempted from the court decision in 1896.

64. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 8; *Bulletin*, September 16, 1896, p. 3.

65. *Examiner*, September 26, 1896, p. 9; *Chronicle*, September 17, 1896, p. 7; September 26, 1896, p. 11; *Bulletin*, September 17, 1896, p. 5.

66. *Examiner*, Oct. 10, 1896, pp. 6, 16; *McDonald vs. Hinton*, *Pacific Reporter*, XLVI (1896), 870-872.

67. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 6.

68. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 20.

69. *Examiner*, October 13, 1896, p. 14; October 15, 1896, p. 14; October 17, 1896, p. 16.

70. *Examiner*, April 26, 1896, p. 9; May 11, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, May 12, 1896, p. 9; May 14, 1896, p. 1; *Bulletin*, May 11, 1896, p. 8; May 12, 1896, p. 1; May 13, 1896, p. 1. See also Donald E. Walters, "Populism in California, 1889-1900" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1952).

71. *Examiner*, August 2, 1896, p. 2; September 6, 1896, p. 12; *Chronicle*, August 22, 1896, p. 13.

72. *Examiner*, September 13, 1896, p. 9; October 9, 1896, p. 16; *Bulletin*, September 2, 1896, p. 2; September 17, 1896, p. 1; *Chronicle*, September 17, 1896, p. 1.

73. *Chronicle*, September 6, 1896, p. 32; September 7, 1896, p. 7; September 12, 1896, p. 7; *Examiner*, September 13, 1896, p. 8; September 17, 1896, p. 7. For Cator and his career, see Harold E. Taggart, "Thomas Vincent Cator," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXVII (December 1958), 311-318 and XXVIII (March 1949), 47-55.

74. *Examiner*, September 19, 1896, p. 5; September 25, 1896, p. 7; *Chronicle*, September 25, 1896, p. 14.

75. *Examiner*, September 29, 1896, pp. 6, 7.

76. *Examiner*, October 1, 1896, pp. 1-2; October 2, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, September 25, 1896, p. 14; September 29, 1896, p. 11; September 30, 1896, p. 5; *Bulletin*, October 1, 1896, p. 5.

77. *Chronicle*, September 22, 1896, p. 8; September 25, 1896, p. 14; *Bulletin*, September 22, 1896, p. 3.

78. *Chronicle*, September 25, 1896, p. 14; *Examiner*, September 25, 1896, p. 7. The Populist platform included proposals for total reform of the political and economic systems, municipal ownership of utilities, direct legislation, removal of fire and police departments from politics, reform of the city hall janitorial service, reduced utility rates, enforcement of street railway maintenance, improved prison hospital services, an almshouse, improved street lighting, municipal action to alleviate unemployment, and the circulation of dollar-bonds as municipal currency, as well as support for state and national platforms and candidates.

79. *Examiner*, September 29, 1896, p. 7; *Chronicle*, September 29, 1896, p. 11.

80. *Examiner*, October 2, 1896, p. 8; *Chronicle*, October 2, 1896, p. 5; *Bulletin*, October 2, 1896, p. 5.

81. *Ibid.*; Walters, "Populism in California," 195-198; William C. Jones, "The Kaweah Experiment in Co-operation," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, VI (October 1891), 47-75. Haskell had long been associated with radical causes, including the ill-fated Kaweah community in present Sequoia Park.

82. *Examiner*, September 30, 1896, p. 5, October 1, 1896, p. 1, October 5, 1896, p. 6, *Chronicle*,

September 30, 1896, p. 5; October 1, 1896, p. 8; October 2, 1896, p. 5. Offices for which Populist and Anti-Charter Democrat candidates were identical included the mayor, three of four superior court judges, two of five justices of the peace, two of four police court judges, eight of twelve supervisors, seven of twelve school directors, district attorney, tax collector, auditor, recorder, public administrator, and superintendent of streets. In addition, several Populist nominees who did not appear on the Anti-Charter ticket, including C. W. Pope, had close ties to Buckley. Several original nominees later declined to run and were replaced by common candidates. See *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 18.

83. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 18.

84. *Examiner*, October 11, 1896, p. 18; October 15, 1896, p. 8.

85. *Examiner*, September 23, 1896, p. 1; September 24, 1896, p. 1; *Bulletin*, September 25, 1896, p. 6.

86. *Examiner*, November 3, 1896, p. 1; *Chronicle*, November 3, 1896, p. 1; November 5, 1896, p. 9; November 6, 1896, p. 10; November 7, 1896, p. 10. Out of 72,359 registered voters, 65,178 cast votes.

87. *Examiner*, November 5, 1896, p. 2.

88. *Chronicle*, November 6, 1896, p. 9. Ticket splitting seems to indicate that San Francisco was an exception to the solidly Republican "System of 1896" which Rogin and Shover postulate for the state. See Rogin and Shover, *Political Change*, 2.

89. *Chronicle*, November 5, 1896, p. 9; *Examiner*, November 5, 1896, p. 7; November 6, 1896, p. 7; *Bulletin*, November 5, 1896, pp. 1-2. Though a quantitative analysis of precinct records to establish areas of Buckley-Populist strength would be valuable, the San Francisco registrar of voters reports that all election records were destroyed in 1906.

90. *Ibid.*

91. "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, November 9, 1917, p. 11.

92. Rogin and Shover, *Political Change*, 16-24; Walters, "Populism in California," 245-266. See also Alexander Saxton, "San Francisco Labor and the Populist and Progressive Insurgencies," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXV (1965), 421-438; Harold F. Taggart, "The Party Realignment of 1896 in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, VIII (1939), 435-452.

93. Eric F. Peterson, "The Struggle for the Australian Ballot in California," *California Historical Quarterly*, LI (Fall 1972), 227-242; "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, October 3, 1917, p. 8; Buckley, "Reminiscences," *Bulletin*, February 5, 1914, p. 2. The Australian ballot law would be followed in 1901 by the intermediate primary law and in 1909 by the direct primary and abolition of municipal nominating conventions.

94. *Examiner*, November 3, 1896, p. 1; November 4, 1896, p. 18.

95. "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, November 9, 1917, p. 11.

96. *Examiner*, November 7, 1896, p. 16; November 8, 1896, p. 11.

97. "Martin Kelly's Story," *Bulletin*, September 26, 1917, p. 18.

98. Frederic C. Howe, *The City, The Hope of Democracy* (New York, 1906), 46.

99. *Examiner*, September 16, 1896, pp. 1, 9; September 17, 1896, p. 7; September 29, 1896, p. 1; October 1, 1896, p. 1; October 11, 1896, p. 20; *Chronicle*, September 4, 1896, p. 7; *Bulletin*, September 16, 1896, p. 2.

100. *Examiner*, October 18, 1896, p. 1; October 20, 1896, p. 5.

101. James P. Walsh, "Abe Ruef Was No Boss: Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco," *California Historical Quarterly*, LI (Spring 1972), 3-16; Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco* (Berkeley, 1952).

102. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York, 1957), 70-81; Eric L. McKittrick, "The Study of Corruption," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXII (December 1957), 502-514. Merton suggests that the "latent functions of the machine" involved services to four urban sub-groups: various deprived classes, legitimate businesses, the underworld, and those to whom normal avenues of mobility were closed. For Buckley's activities along these lines in the 1880's, see Callow, "Blind Boss," 264-271, and Buckley, "Reminiscences," *passim*.

103. Buckley made one more rather half-hearted comeback attempt; see *Examiner*, July 24, 1899, p. 3. Buckley's memoirs are serialized in the *Bulletin*, December 23, 1918 to February 5, 1919. He died on April 20, 1922; see obituaries in *Chronicle*, April 21, 1922, pp. 1-2, and *Examiner*, April 21, 1922, p. 1.

R. D. Ginther, Workingman Artist and Historian of Skid Row

RONALD DEBS GINTHER WAS A WOBBLY, a member of the radical labor organization, the Industrial Workers of the World. He was born the year after the militant "One Big Union" movement was founded in Chicago in 1905 and, although a cook by trade and an officer of the Seattle Cooks and Waiters Union, his empathy and energy went into organizing the casual and unemployed laborers who haunted Seattle's waterfront district and Wobbly halls.

Sometime during the middle of the Great Depression—having completed two art courses by correspondence—Ginther began retiring to his basement where he took up brush and pen. Here he recorded the events he had witnessed in the late 1920's and early 1930's which seared in his memory and demanded to be recorded. Mounting each of his 14 x 15 inch water colors on a cardboard backing and typing his own detailed captions, he told his wife, "I think I'm onto something."

Indeed he was. Using bold colors, a primitive style, and harsh personal experiences as inspiration, Ginther painted eighty-five cartoon-like scenes of labor unrest and Skid Road misery on the Pacific Coast—powerful images of the human fodder and refuse, he believed, of American capitalism run amuck.

Two years before Ginther's death in 1969 the Washington State Historical Society acquired the extraordinary paintings through a donation by Dr. and Mrs. J. S. Holliday. A selection was shown at the San Francisco Museum of Art in early 1975, and a full exhibition is on display at the California Historical Society headquarters in San Francisco until mid-October in conjunction with other art works and programs about working people. Unique in its depiction of common, if brutal, scenes that only a few individuals such as photographer Dorothea Lange believed important to document, the Ginther exhibit is scheduled to travel throughout the United States as an unusual collection of workers' art and an historical record of economically inflicted suffering, violence, and despair in an era more pleasantly remembered for Busby Berkeley musical extravaganzas.

Spanning the late 1920's and early 1930's in subject, Ginther's works focus on two themes: the depression and Skid Road. Some of the former depict images of unemployment lines, Hoovervilles, strikes, and violent labor-police confrontations. Others show less familiar events such as political agitators detained on open sentences in jail holding tanks; unemployed people looting food markets and waiting for strong winds to blow plate glass windows out of a bakery; bindle stiffs hopping freight trains and cooking Mulligan stew from stolen vegetables; ragged veterans assembling for the National Bonus March on Washington, D.C., in 1932; and longshoremen and seamen marching in a silent parade commemorating the Bloody Thursday of the 1934 waterfront strike.

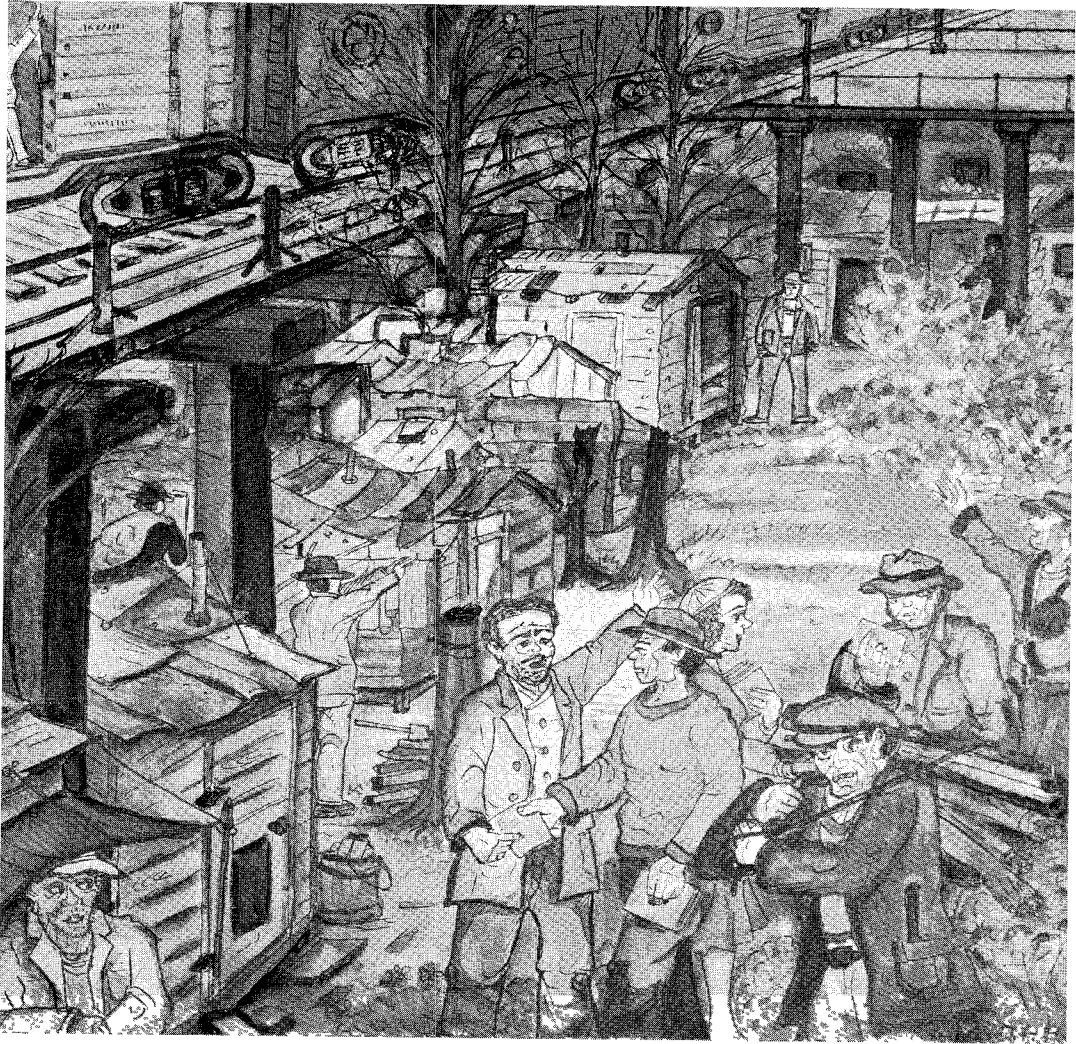
More than half of Ginther's documentary drawings, however, focus on Seattle's Skid Road, the original one on Yesler Way—although the scenes were re-

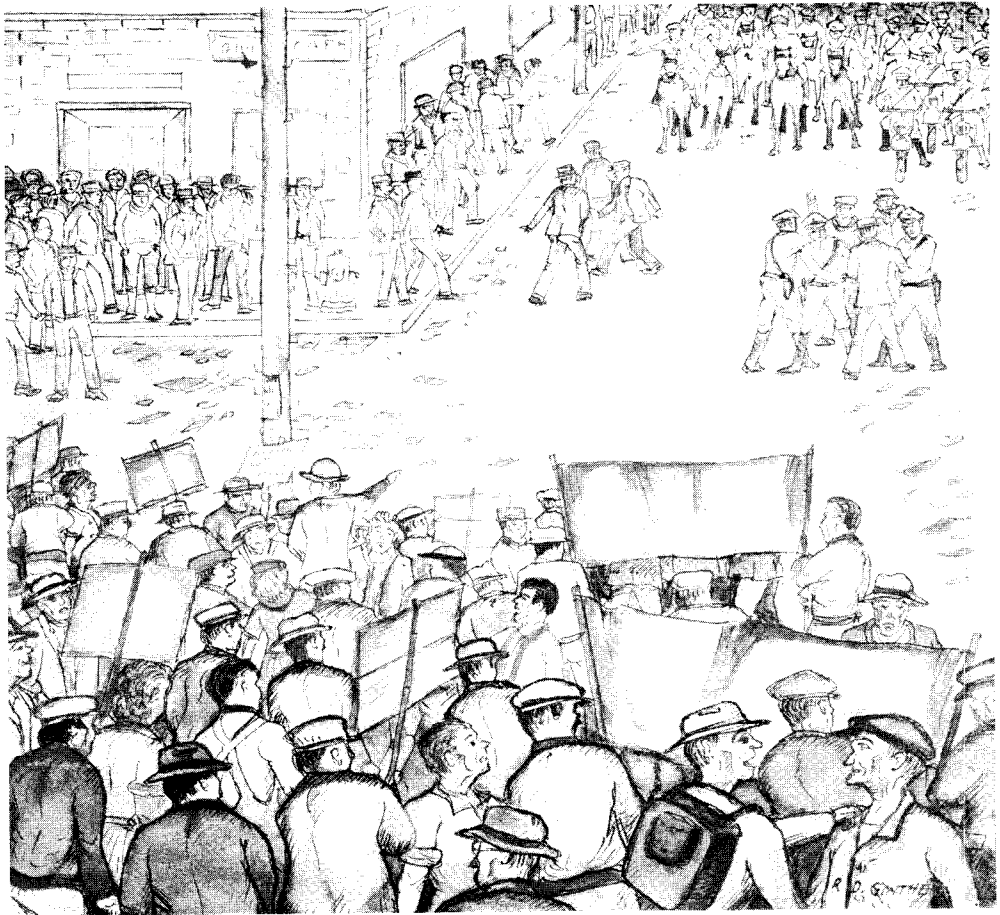
peated on Portland's Burnside Street, San Francisco's Third and Mission, and in every city across the country. Skid Road is the end of the survival line, and Ginther was perhaps obsessed by it as an image of what he would call the contradictions of capitalism. Here, in the depression, men who normally supported themselves as migratory casual laborers—men who comprised a work force essential to seasonal and casual industries such as fishing, lumbering, seafaring, fruit growing, construction, and agriculture—found themselves with no exit. Here, also, collected the wounded men and women whose only worldly refuges were flop houses, Salvation Army shelters, and soup kitchens. Unflinchingly, sparing no detail, Ginther consciously recorded for history scenes from this world: homeless men searching for bed bugs in 20¢-a-night flophouses; frequenters at dimly lit 10¢-a-dance recreation halls; “dehorns” sprawled on a “mountain of death,” seven years’ accumulated sterno cans, under the Yolo Causeway across the river from Sacramento, rotting their guts for a few hours’ oblivion; a “snow-bird” (dope addict) slashing his wrists in a crowded jail “time” tank; women stuffing edible garbage from street corner cans into baby buggies; and “rugged individualists,” as Ginther called them, scavenging for food in a city dump. With similar Wobbly skepticism about government promises and “pic-in-the-sky” solutions, he sketched two “Christs returning to earth” meeting accidentally on Skid Road and hoboes salivating while Salvation Army “sky pilots,” as Wallace Stegner described them in a recent article on Ginther in *Esquire* magazine, passed out “angel food” before distributing coffee and doughnuts. Significantly, many of these latter scenes were witnessed by Ginther before 1929—before the full impact of the economic crisis which carried millions of people of marginal existence over the financial brink.

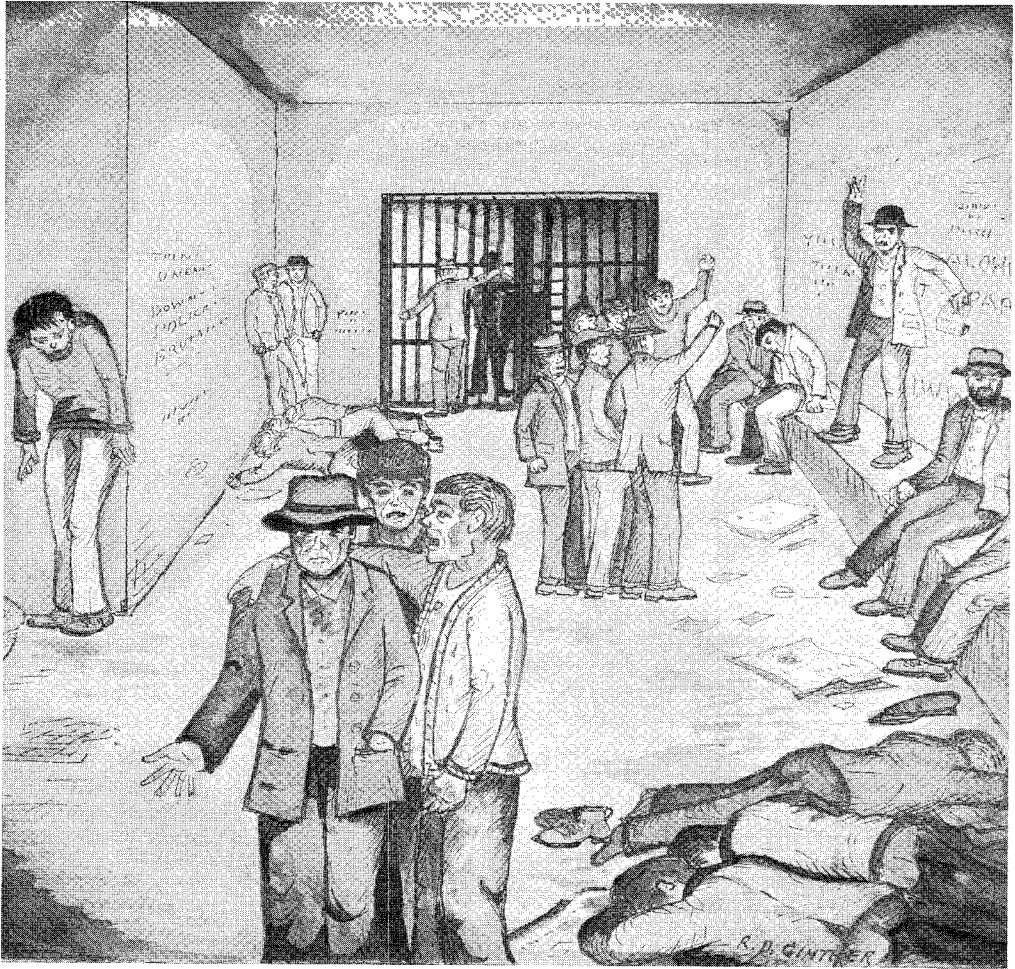
While a few of Ginther's paintings show optimism about labor solidarity—witness a scene of a 1933 hunger march on Olympia in which marchers were handed food from sympathetic farmers—the Wobbly artist's vision, particularly in his Skid Road scenes, more often reflects despair over the fate of the lower economic classes. Unlike socialist realism art of worker states which features brawny men and women with eyes stoically glued to the future, Ginther's people are undernourished, shivering from the cold, and suffering, with little chance of winning their struggle and usually on the wrong end of the policeman's club. Perhaps unfathomable to Ginther, not even the widespread disaster of the depression revived the Industrial Workers of the World with its goal of radical alteration of both the capitalist wage system and the parasitic employer-worker relationship. While the I.W.W. managed strike activity in 1923 at San Pedro among maritime workers, in 1926 among Colorado soft coal miners, and in 1933 among the hops picker in Washington's Yakima (to which Ginther alluded in one picture), by the late 1920's the I.W.W., whose membership peaked in 1912 with 100,000 workers, had nearly been crushed by wartime patriotism purges, mass trials and mailings of Wobbly leaders, police and citizen violence, anti-syndicalism laws, and restrictions on immigration. Its One Big Union for all workers idea was edged out by the C.I.O., formed in 1935 in a split from the A.F.L., which adopted the industrial-union principle of the I.W.W. but contemptuously ignored migratory, seasonal, and casual laborers and never reached down to assist the “unemployable” classes, mainly single men, shut out of the American Dream.

Ginther's paintings of the West Coast are a testament to that shut-out, the angry vision of an unreconstructed radical whose view from Wobbly headquarters in the heart of Skid Road assured him that a chicken in every pot was propaganda fantasy. "Some people say I overdone them," Ginther reflected before his death, "but it was worse than my pictures depict. These sketches are not *near* the truth." As Wallace Stegner has observed, if Skid Road ever had an historian, it was the self-taught workingman artist, Ronald Debs Ginther.

Under the tracks of Portland's Hooverville, Ginther painted Unemployed Council organizers in 1931 passing out leaflets to help mobilize the legions of jobless.

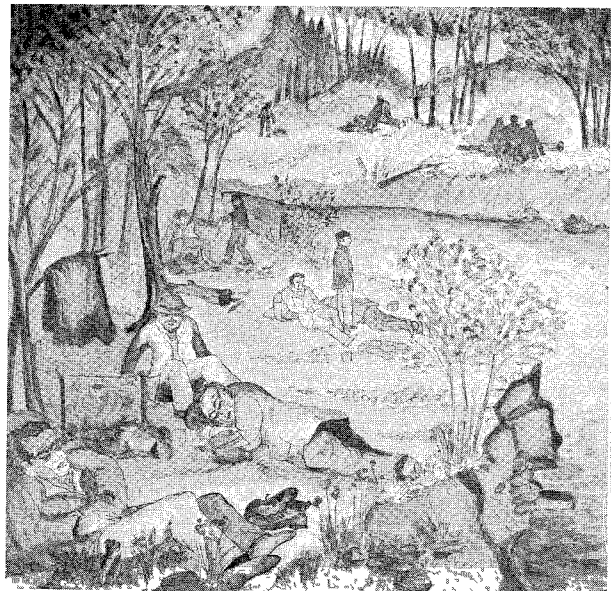


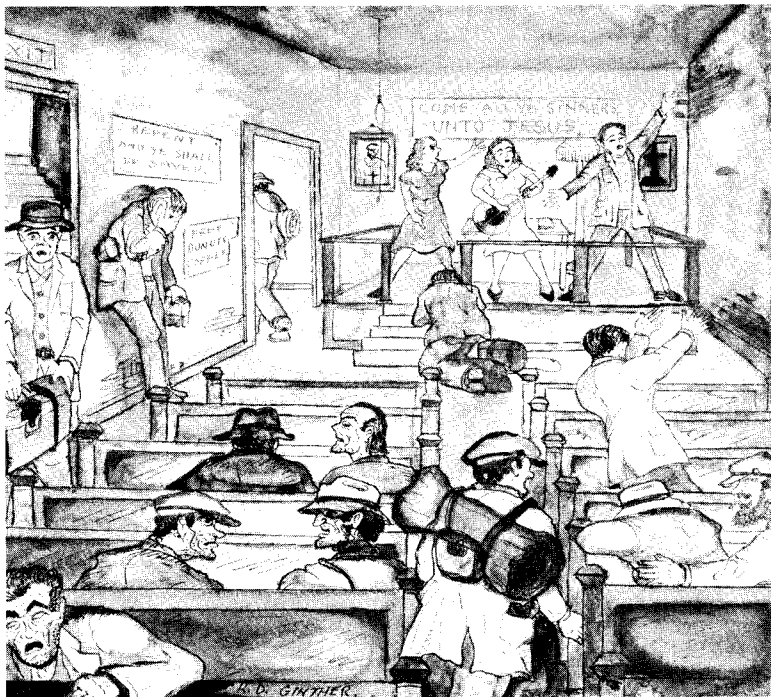




With the eye of a journalist, Gintner painted three sketches of the events of May 1, 1930, when an attempt to parade by the unemployed on Seattle's Skid Road (top left) erupted in bloody police-civilian violence (bottom left), resulting in the imprisonment of leaders in the jail's "time tank" (above).

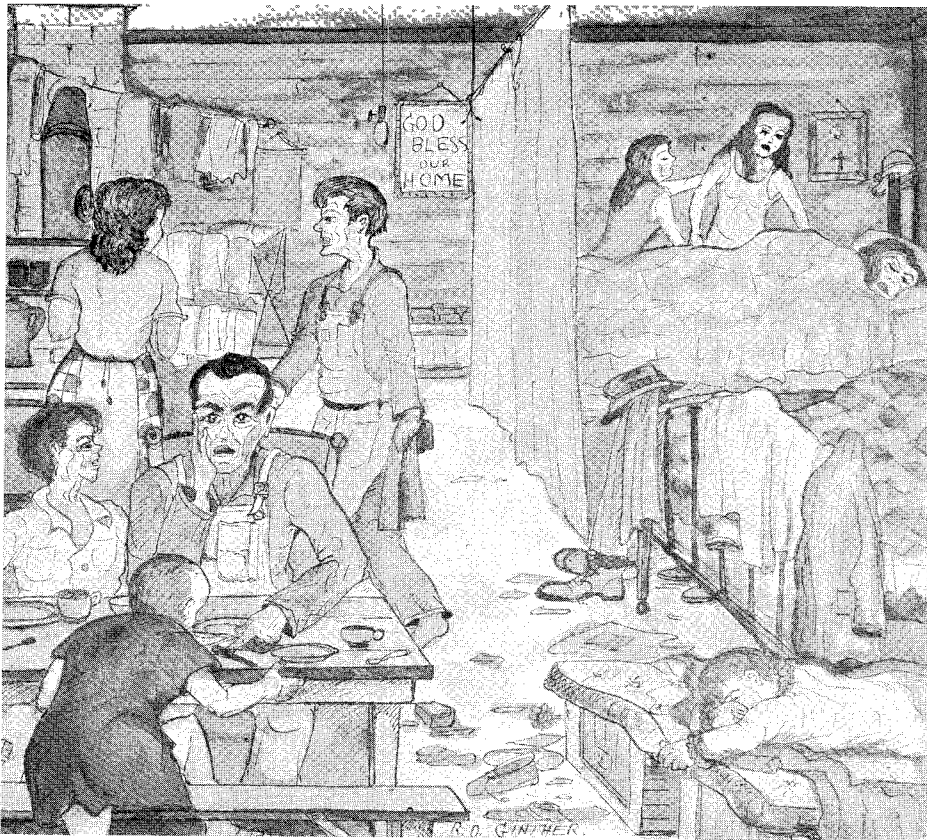
Men made homeless by the evaporation of steady employment during the depression slept along a river in Oregon's Willamette Valley awaiting the beginning of hop-picking season.





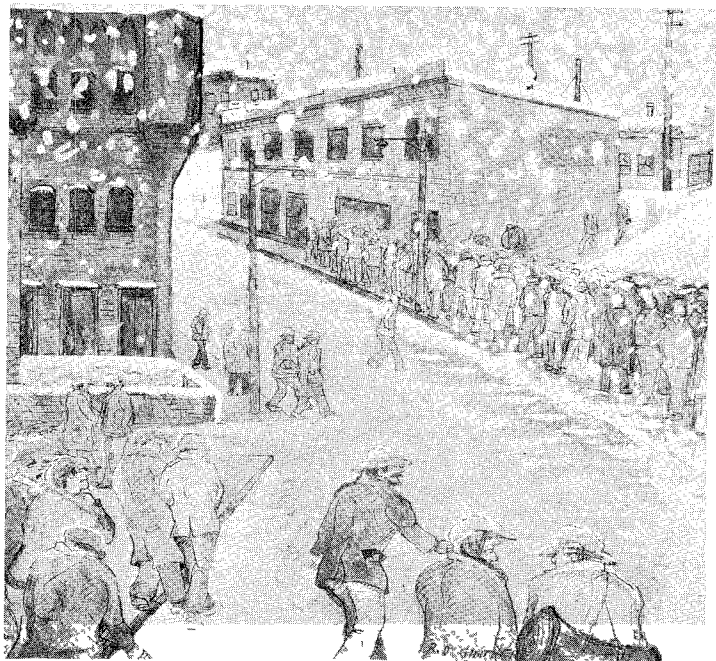
On Seattle's Skid Road, Ginther saw hungry men wait out religious services to receive free doughnuts (left) and old women rummage through garbage cans for food, while "dehorns" slowly killed themselves drinking de-natured alcohol (below).





In Klamath Falls, Oregon, the “lumber capital of the world,” Ginther visited an unemployed lumber worker and his family of ten who lived in a one-room shack (above).

During the hard winter of 1934–35, one of Seattle’s breadlines on Western Avenue grew to enormous length (right).



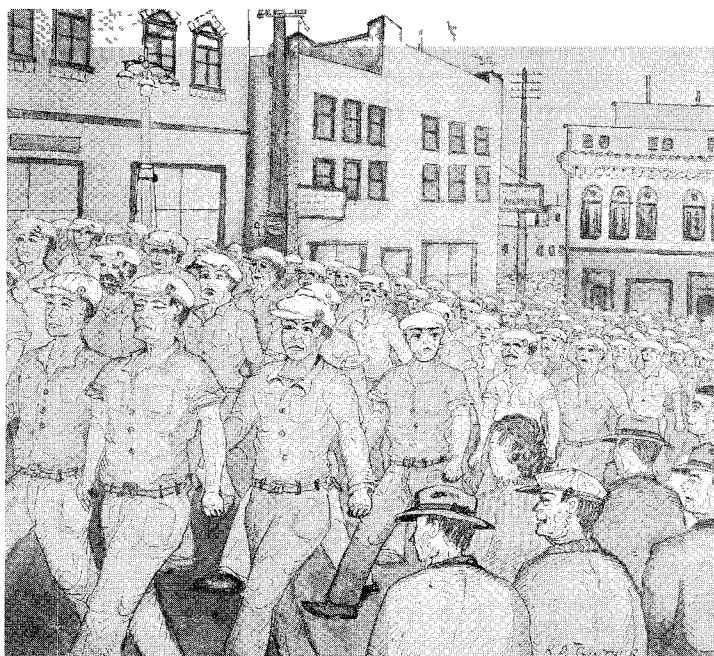


Sympathetic (if skeptical) about attempts to convince the government of the needs of its citizens, Ginther sketched unemployed and World War I veterans beginning their Bonus March to Washington, D.C., in Portland in 1932 (above).

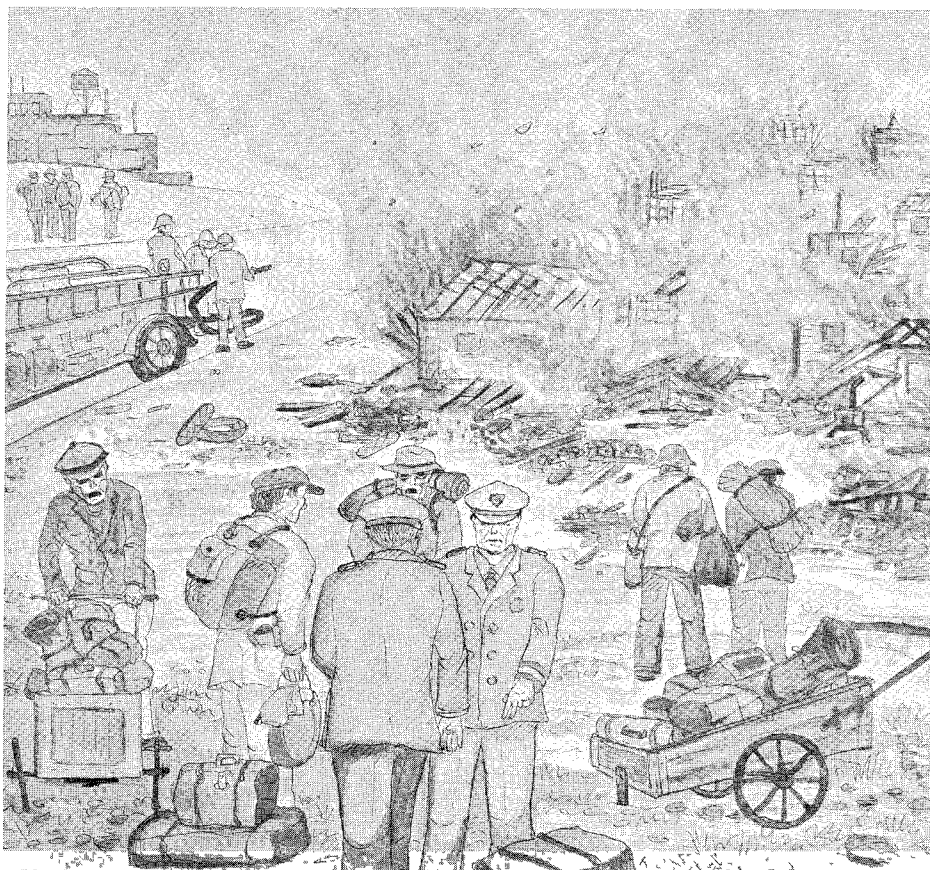


In Ginther's scene of the hunger march on Olympia, he depicts sympathetic Tacoma farmers bringing in supplies along the line of march (left).

Longshoremen and seamen
march in silent parade on
the anniversary of the
bloody 1934 waterfront strike
in one of Ginther's rare
drawings showing labor
solidarity and strength
(right).



With irony Ginther entitled
this scene of the burning of
Seattle's Shacketown in 1936,
"The Great Depression
Tapering Off" (below).
Anacostia, the Hooverville
in the nation's capital, was
similarly burned and its
residents driven out under
the direction of General
George McArthur.



REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

California History Resources: The Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History

HARRY KELSEY, *chief curator of history at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History*

The historical collections of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History contain archival holdings of particular interest to California historians. Many of these materials document or otherwise enhance the three-dimensional objects in the general history collection of the Museum. Others came to the Museum as parts of larger donations, as for example the artifacts and memorabilia gathered over the years by the Historical Society of Southern California and presented to the Museum.

The photographic collection is the largest single holding in the history archives. There are more—many more—than 100,000 photographs in the collection, including tintypes, ambrotypes, daguerreotypes, and most other types of positive and negative photographic images. Much of the collection is unorganized, and some of the organized portions exist only in negative (usually glass plate) form. However, a large General Photograph Collection of about 9,000 items, with a cross-referenced card index, covers extensively Southern California and other parts of the Southwest. Some of the important glass plate negative collections are the work of F. H. Maude, the Putnam-Valentine studio, and C. C. Pierce.



This classic photo of a goldminer in Glen Canyon on the Colorado River, taken by George W. James in 1898, has frequently been incorrectly identified as a scene from the California gold rush.

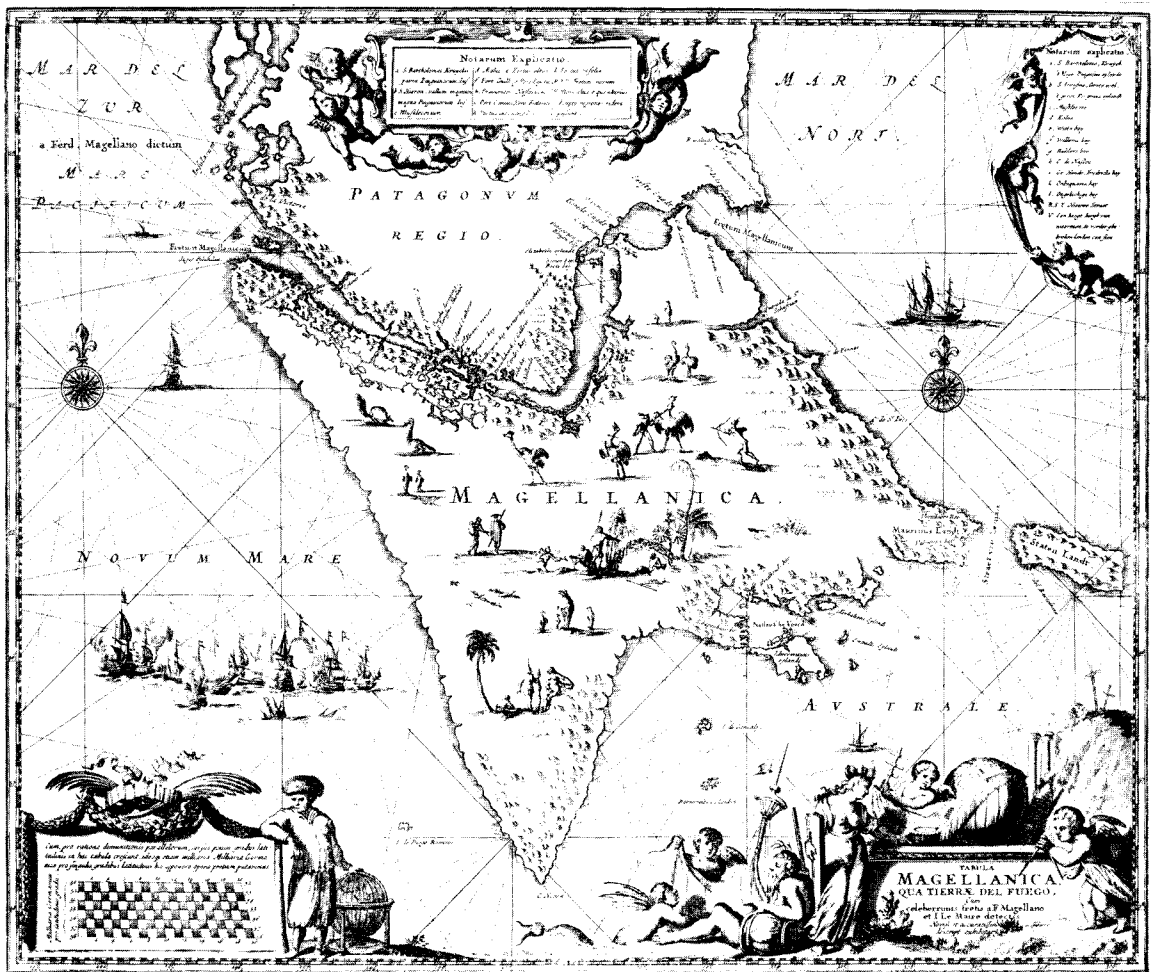
A few other special photograph collections are also of interest. Perhaps the most popular these days is the Vroman Collection, which includes a number of interesting photographs of Hopi villages taken on several photographic expeditions at the turn of the century. The provenance for this collection is doubtful, and it appears probable that some of the pictures were made by Vroman's close associates. Nonetheless, the bulk of the collection is undoubtedly the work of Adam Clark Vroman, and it provides an extremely detailed pictorial record of life in the Hopi pueblos.

Every photographic library has at least one popular picture which the public seems to love and the staff grows to dislike intensely. In this category at the Museum is a photograph of an old miner panning gold. The man in the picture is commonly said to be a Forty-niner, and though he looks like one, he was probably only a babe when the California gold rush began. Although the photo has been used over and over again to illustrate books, magazine articles, and museum exhibits (even one of our own!) about the California gold rush, let it be said here and now that the photograph was taken in 1898 by George Wharton James in Glen Canyon on the Colorado River.¹

The history archives also has several hundred prints, city views, and birdseye views,

Artists are well represented in the museum's graphics collection. This 1917 recruiting poster is the work of Howard Chandler Christy.





Included in the museum's over 2,500 maps is Ogilby's handsome map of Magellanica (South America) from the Shearman Collection (above).

Suplicamos á V. tenga á bien asistir á las tres de la tarde de hoy al entierro del cuerpo de Don Perfecto Hugo Reid, (Q. E. P. D.); y así mismo mañana á las nueve, concurrir á la Iglesia de esta ciudad, á las exequias que se le deberán hacer.

La comitiva saldrá esta tarde de la casa de Don Enrique Dalton.

H. DALTON,	{	Compadres.
ABEL STEARNS,		
A. OLVERA,		
B. D. WILSON,	{	Amigos.
JULIAN WORKMAN,		
D. W. ALEXANDER,		
JOHN A. LEWIS,		
J. B. WILSON,		
WM. H. RAND,		

Angeles, Diciembre 14 de 1852.

Early Angeleno Hugo Reid's funeral announcement (left) is among many in the museum's manuscript collection.

as well as a few of the illustrated lettersheets that were popular in California during the fifties and sixties. One particularly interesting series of views came to the museum with the collection of Antonio F. Coronel. This is a group of colored lithographs by Carlos Nebel² and others, with accompanying text, illustrating daily life in Mexico before 1840. This material, along with the rare books and the newspaper collection, is located in the museum reference library. Before too many months pass, all of the archival and library material pertaining to California and the Southwest will hopefully be organized into a single special research collection.

The graphic work of such artists as James Montgomery Flagg, Howard Chandler Christy, Adolph Treidler, and Norman Rockwell is represented in our collection of about 3,000 posters. Most of these are Red Cross, war relief, or recruiting posters, but there are a number of general political posters, movie advertisements, and other similar pictures.

The museum's collection of printed maps runs to about 2,500 sheets and is most useful for the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, particularly the Pacific Coast of North America. The largest single addition to the map collection came from Warren C. Shearman, whose collection was acquired by the museum in the 1960's. Most of the Shearman maps are mounted on large boards, with accompanying explanatory text and contemporary illustrations by noted writers and artists.

The small manuscript collection (about 10,000 items) includes William B. Ide's Bear Flag Letter, Hugo Reid's manuscripts on California Indians, and a beautiful example of calligraphy in the hand of Agustín Zamorano, the early California printer. The manuscript collection is only partly organized and indexed, and in addition it includes some interesting items that are not properly manuscripts. An example of this category is a series of 1850-1870 printed funeral announcements (from the Coronel collection and the Del Valle collection) which were distributed to friends and relatives of the deceased on the day of death and intended to serve as an invitation to the funeral (and doubtless to the other accompanying festivities). Also in the Del Valle and Coronel collections are a number of prints, pamphlets, and broadsides on various subjects. Most of these items relate in one way or another to the history of Southern California.

A number of the manuscripts have little or nothing to do with the history of California but nevertheless are of great interest for exhibit purposes. Perhaps the best example of this sort of material is the Abraham Lincoln collection, which includes several original Lincoln letters, as well as a number of objects that once belonged to Lincoln or his wife Mary. There are also a number of real estate maps of the Los Angeles region in the 1880's, plus an interesting collection of oil company road maps documenting a half-century period of modern highway travel.

Our reference file of notes and clippings is based on two collections, one started by Owen C. Coy, history professor for many years at the University of Southern California and director of the California State Historical Association, and the other by Dwight Franklin, an arms collector and exhibit designer who did pioneering work with miniature dioramas. The Coy collection contains an extensive and well organized selection of clippings on the history of various California counties. The Franklin collection contains notes and pictures about costumes and implements used during selected periods of American history. There is also a collection of scrapbooks on California subjects, clipped and organized by Mrs. M. R. Krythe.

One interesting and often overlooked picture collection is a group of about 12,000 color postcard views of California. Four thousand of these cards depict the Los Angeles area alone.

The museum's history collection is not operated as a public reference library. Nonetheless, the Museum of Natural History is anxious to have its research materials used by qualified persons with as few restrictions as possible consistent with good curatorial

practices and the needs of the scholarly professions. For this reason, qualified persons with legitimate research interests are allowed access to the archival collections. Research days are Wednesday and Thursday, from 1:30 P.M. to 4:30 P.M., except holidays. Advance appointments are necessary.

NOTES

1. George Wharton James, *In and Around the Grand Canyon*, 233 (Boston, 1913).
2. Don Carlos Nebel, *Viaje Pintoresco y Arqueológico sobre la Parte Mas Interesante de la República Mexicana en los Años Transcurridos desde 1829 hasta 1834* (Paris y Mexico, 1840).



12,000 picture postcards such as these depicting Long Beach bathing beauties (left) and lunch time at the Los Angeles Alligator Farm (below) document California popular culture.



LONG BEACH BATHING BEAUTIES, 1913. LOS ANGELES ALLIGATOR FARM, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, 1913.

Book Reviews

SAN FRANCISCO, 1846-1856: FROM HAMLET TO CITY. By Roger W. Lotchin. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974. xxii, 406 pp. Illustrations. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by PETER R. DECKER, *assistant professor of policy sciences and history at Duke University who has just completed a book on social mobility in San Francisco, 1850-1880.*

The appearance of this exciting history of San Francisco's crucial decade of development is important for two reasons. It is, first of all, the most thorough and accurate study we have of early San Francisco. Of equal importance, Professor Lotchin's scholarly book is one of the very few urban histories published in the last ten years which focuses upon a city of the trans-Mississippi West.

The study, imaginative in its topical scope, opens with a discussion of Yerba Buena's Spanish origins, progresses through the height of the gold rush and closes at a time when San Francisco had emerged as the "Great Commercial Emporium of the Pacific." No American city, with the exception of Chicago, had grown so fast in so short a time. The result was chaos throughout the economic, political, and social life of this "instant" urban center during the 1846-1856 decade. Constant fires devastated the hastily constructed wood and canvas shelters which served as residences or business establishments. Temporary periods of economic prosperity were constantly interrupted by longer spans of severe recessions, the inevitable result of a totally irrational business environment. Few problems in such a rapidly growing city could be forecast so that solutions to the numerous disasters which struck the infant metropolis were usually available only after the fact. Besides, as Lotchin suggests, the *rate* of San Francisco's growth virtually defied a more orderly solution to her urban problems (crime, political organization, municipal income and services), problems which older communities solved more peacefully and efficiently since they possessed both the luxury of time and a higher degree of social cohesiveness.

Lotchin is at his best when he details the city's ethnic and religious diversity, her residential and commercial neighborhoods, and the multitude of voluntary associations which provided San Francisco with necessary social services. The fire and militia companies, churches, and immigrant societies also served as the social cement for the 50,000 new residents who, by 1856, had sought their instant fortunes in this "uprooted" metropolis.

The minor omissions in this superbly researched and gracefully written history are those of emphasis rather than scope. Lotchin discusses the reasons why thousands of native and foreign born migrated to the Bay City in the early 1850's, but he pays little attention to the equally important question as to why so many of the in-migrants failed to take up permanent residence in the city. He fails to comprehend the full significance of the 1856 Vigilance Committee (e.g. how the beleaguered business community utilized the intimidating power of the Committee and its political legacy, the People's Party, to stabilize and hence preserve their high status in the city). Nor does Lotchin adequately relate "the unbanizing influences in San Francisco . . . to the experiences of urbanization in other parts of the country," as suggested by the misleading statement on the dust jacket. Finally, the inclusion of a detailed street map would have assisted the reader to better negotiate the city's interesting social geography so well delineated by the author.

Aside from these minor caveats, Professor Lotchin's excellent book deserves the wide and careful attention of those interested in the early history of San Francisco

POWER IN THE CITY: DECISION MAKING IN SAN FRANCISCO. By Frederick M. Wirt. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. 431 pp. Tables, maps, appendices. \$14.95.)

Reviewed by ALLAN B. JACOBS, *former Director of Planning for the City of San Francisco and currently professor of city and regional planning at the University of California, Berkeley.*

It does not appear as though Mr. Wirt had much fun writing about San Francisco's government. The book reads as though he started with a detailed, preconceived idea of what should be in a comprehensive study of local government and decision-making together with a draft of findings and conclusions. He has found out a good deal about San Francisco and passes the knowledge on to the reader, but there are few new insights into the dynamics of San Francisco government, the conclusions do not always follow from the material presented, and he seems to have missed or failed to follow-up on the essence of the place—the kind of knowledge, understanding, and good humor that can come with hours and days of observing public hearings, watching the bureaucracy at work, attending neighborhood meetings, and just experiencing. Further, in trying to be comprehensive, the author has covered too little in deserving depth. Nor can this review cover more than the highlights of what is included and what is left out.

As might be expected, the book contains a short history of the city and its people, an accounting of the "arrived" (Irish, Italian) and "arriving" (Black, Chicano) ethnic groups and their changing roles in government, and a discussion of San Francisco's power structure, including the reasonable conclusion that there is no dominant group. It is unfortunate in these chapters, which set the stage for the nature of existing and evolving local government, that such diverse matters as the influence of the Catholic Church (rather than the ethnic groups) or the small physical size of the city are not dealt with. In observing San Francisco's non-partisan political process, Wirt says that, "... the elected are hard put to define to whom they are responsible," and he seems obsessed with the notion that government via political parties would be more responsible and accountable to the electorate. There is, of course, no evidence to indicate that this would be so in San Francisco. What "responsible" position would a political party have taken on the U.S. Steel issue? Would environmentalists be better or less well represented under a party system? More important, having observed the strength of local bureaucrats, it is unfortunate that Wirt does not pursue the idea that San Francisco really does have party politics: one political party that might be called the "Civil Service Party." Exploring that notion might have been fun. Similarly, instead of observing the cumbersome nature of the city's line item budget and the length of time and numbers of agencies involved in deciding whether or not there should be a garage under Washington Square, it might have been more productive to question the need for high levels of so-called efficiency, responsiveness, and adaptability. What have those attributes brought cities that have them? Perhaps San Francisco remains a livable, "do-able" place just because no one has had the power to give it away in a time of "crisis." In this general connection, Mr. Wirt comes to a very strange conclusion regarding the proposed 1969 charter revision. He maintains that the prospect of "... a strengthened mayor and planning department, a board of supervisors that could investigate the actions or inactions of administrators, and the elimination of independent commissions threatened the economic development that had dominated the city for the past fifteen years." Exactly the opposite would have been true. Power would have been more concentrated, and there would have been greater "responsiveness" and fewer obstacles to action.

Although the abbreviated accounts of such high-rise issues as the Transamerica and

U.S. Steel buildings and the so-called Duskin height initiative are basically correct as far as they go, there are also significant errors of fact, omissions of major influences, and questionable conclusions in the section dealing with "The Political Economy and Highrises." It is simply incorrect to say that a clear labor majority existed on the Planning Commission in 1971 (using the *Bay Guardian* as a source for any serious work is questionable to start). It is doubtful at best that the defeat of the U.S. Steel development at the waterfront was more the result of external political authorities—he notes the Bay Conservation and Development Commission—than to public opinion and responsive supervisors. Most critical, it is incomprehensible that Wirt could discuss the proposed Duskin height limitations and conclude that San Franciscans are not opposed to tall buildings without also discussing the role of the *Urban Design Plan* and the Height and Bulk Ordinance in responding to the height issue at the same time. If ever there was a case of local government being responsive to community issues and desires this was it, yet it gets no mention in the book.

By far the best part of the book deals with the external influences, especially those from Washington, on local government and local autonomy. There is an excellent, though brief, accounting of how evolving regional planning and government has been instigated as much or more by federal forces than by local actions, and Mr. Wirt observes, correctly, that local powers have, increasingly, been taken away from above, perhaps more than below, from neighborhood and ethnic groups. It is unfortunate that he did not examine the most insidious ways that the "feds" exert their will, such as by providing a large staff in the mayor's office free of charge, and thereby helping to shift the balance of power between the executive, the legislative, and the departments in favor of a beholden centrality. So does the will of the people get circumvented. Those concerned with local government will want to read and understand how local autonomy is being threatened from above.

Despite the generally negative nature of this review, the Institute of Governmental Studies in Berkeley is to be commended for sponsoring this kind of research and publication. It is no easy task to capture and understand the nature of a city and to relate such knowledge to its governmental structure, to say nothing of assessing its strengths and weaknesses. More studies of this kind are in order if we are to better understand why we govern ourselves the way we do and, knowing that, how to govern ourselves better.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS. A collection of documents from the period 1847 to 1865 in which are described some of the things that happened to some of the Indians of California. Edited by Robert F. Heizer. (Salt Lake City and Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974. xiii, 321 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

A MOHAVE WAR REMINISCENCE, 1854-1880. By A. L. Kroeber and C. B. Kroeber. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973. Publications in Anthropology, vol. 10. x, 97 pp. Illustrations, pocket map. \$7.00.)

Reviewed by LOWELL JOHN BEAN, *chairman of the department of anthropology at California State University, Hayward.*

The history of Native Californian peoples prior to contact, as well as, but more especially, after contact with Americans has not been well documented much less synthesized for the nonspecialist. This volume edited by Robert F. Heizer goes a long way toward correcting the neglect that the Native Californian has received from historians, and while some will complain that a synthesis is what is required now, this volume is a

welcome contribution to history. Heizer allows the original writers—those who were involved with California's history, the newspaper men, the Indian agents, the citizens whose documents these are—to speak for themselves. They, better than any historian I have read, "tell it like it was." There is little opportunity for glossing over the history of "grandfather" when you are reading his very own words.

The book is divided into twelve sections, each of which contains documents covering a particular theme. Chapter One, entitled "Early Documents," shows clearly the hostile attitudes of whites toward Indians into the 1870's. Chapter Two indicates the wretched and citizenless condition of Indians after the gold rush began and the severe reduction of their food and land base which accompanied the rapid intrusion of many whites into Indian territories. Chapter Three concerns actions of volunteers and regular troops against the Indians of California. These documents show that civilian depredations against Indians were far more severe than military ones. Chapter Four concerns the early establishment of reservations and the perfunctory way in which agents often attended to their duties. Chapter Five provides documents regarding proposals for the protection of Indians and their welfare, while Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight deal with the indenturing, kidnapping, sale, scalping, and massacring of Indians by California's white pioneers. Chapter Nine concerns the effect of disease, liquor, and sexual exploitation of Indian women. Chapters Ten, Eleven, and Twelve concern the Indians and the "whites" law, the maltreatment by Indians of their fellow minority, the Chinese, and the use of Indians as the butt of white men's jokes.

All in all this is a superbly selected collection of documents which should be called to the attention of all historians of California. These documents explain not only the past but also the present attitudes that Indians have toward whites. They also speak to the obvious accusation that California historians have largely ignored the "truths" about what happened to California's native population, e.g., it was not disease that decimated California Indians so much as genocidal action by California's civilian population who wanted Indians impoverished, enslaved or dead. These documents, so readily available and well-known to historians, demonstrate the existence of a conscious academic conspiracy in the past to hide the truth.

Relatedly, the Kroebers' *Mohave War Reminiscence* is a rare, fortunate example of the anthropological and historical literature information and impressions of Native California which were collected by pioneer anthropologists who enjoyed especially rich opportunities since they worked closely with Indian intellectuals who were close to their traditional past. These Native American scholars were also involved in the recent past which already eludes us, since so few anthropologists collected ethno-historical data at the time. This volume provides us with an oral narrative by one of the Mohave people's senior scholars. It was collected by one of ours (A. L. Kroeber) and is interpreted and analyzed by C. B. Kroeber—years after it was originally collected.

These oral narratives describe war, raiding, alliances, and intercultural rapprochement (enmity and amity relationships), as well as adventure, escape, and capture stories of war victims between the Mohave and their neighboring tribes—the Cocopa, Maricopa, Yavapai, Walapai, and Chemehuevi. Conflict and peace-making between American troops and raids between Mohaves and white civilian populations are also covered. Thus, a rather broadly ranging data base about warfare and conflict resolution is provided for the reader. Each tale is narrated and then a chapter of minutely detailed discussion is provided by the editors—primarily C. B. Kroeber. He asked numerous questions of the narratives themselves and attempts to answer and expand with historical documents the data provided orally by the Mohave author, Jo Nelson (Quich-nailk-Chooksa-Homar) and thereby opens up new areas of research. The historical accounts tend to follow rather closely many of the oral accounts, although several prob-

lems occur—some of them related to the inherent difficulties found in oral history accounts, others due to the absence or lack of access to information from archival resources from which a final valuable comparative analysis will hopefully be made.

Some considerable differences in interpretation of the nature and cause and effects of warfare on the Colorado River have appeared in recent years in the literature, and the reader of this volume will want to consult these to acquire different views than those presented by the Kroebers—especially the controversy concerning the ecological and socio-political implications of warfare. One point of view, that adopted by the Kroebers, tends to see warfare as a cultural sport; others tend to see Colorado River warfare as a conquest instrument by people that is related to ecologically or economically induced conditions. This volume does not address itself to that controversy directly, but it does provide much data for scholars of either persuasion to draw upon in re-evaluating their positions. The reader is referred to Jack Forbes' *Warriors on the Colorado* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1965) and Chris White's paper on amity-enmity relationships on the Colorado River, which appears in *Antap*, edited by Lowell Bean and Thomas King (Ramona, California, 1974).

HISTORY OF THE ATCHISON, TOPEKA, AND SANTA FE RAILWAY. By Keith L. Bryant, Jr. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1975. 398 pp. Illustrations. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by NORMAN E. TUTOROW, *former chief of the Archives Branch at the Los Angeles Federal Records Center.*

In this third volume of a projected eight-volume set entitled *Railroads of America*, Professor Bryant of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, traces more than a century of the history of the Santa Fe Railroad, beginning with its inception in 1863. This period saw the Santa Fe's passenger list grow and then decline until 1971 when passenger service was discontinued altogether. What began as the Santa Fe Railroad later became the Santa Fe Railway, following a reorganization in receivership, and still later became Santa Fe Industries, an amalgamation of enterprises in most cases only tenuously if at all related to the railroad business.

Bryant summarizes skillfully the political and military discord that culminated in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854; he sketches the life story of Colonel Cyrus K. Holiday, founder of the Santa Fe System; and he delineates in excruciating detail the Santa Fe's expansionist battles, its bouts with the federal government over federal control, and the lives and careers of all the men who at one time or another served as the railroad's president. During its era of growth, the Santa Fe vied with other carriers for the Texas cattle trade, battled the Southern Pacific for what it deemed its fair share of the California trade, and on more than one occasion came to blows with Jay Gould's Union Pacific.

This book contains the story of the Santa Fe's struggles with organized labor, its problems with federal government operation during World War I, and its fight for survival during the Great Depression. The story unfolds methodically—at times laboriously—from day to day and event to event. Social history, as well as political and financial, is detailed here. For example, the Santa Fe's colonization program is discussed in considerable detail. In a chapter entitled "Fred Harvey and His Girls," the reader learns about one of the finest hotel and restaurant accommodations in the country and of how Fred Harvey served the Santa Fe. Chapters like "Depression, War and Technological Change" and "The Coming of the Diesel" reflect the scope of the social

history surveyed, while "The Chiefs and Chico" tells of the painful death of the Santa Fe as a passenger carrier. Throughout, the author criticizes as well as praises the Santa Fe's management, but on balance he agrees with Union Pacific President Charles Francis Adams that the Santa Fe was "one of the most brilliantly successful [railroads] in the business history of the country."

Bryant's book is well-organized and easy to follow chronologically, but the detailed treatment accorded almost every aspect of Santa Fe history serves at times to make reading laborious; the book will not appeal to the general reader—nor was it intended to—but it is a must for the railroad historian. The scholar will, however, be dismayed at times by the hundreds of direct quotations that have a total of only ninety-one footnotes directing him to their sources. On the other hand, the bibliographical essay is outstanding, and the index is a useful tool, not a mere appendage. The book is otherwise brought to life by its 121 illustrations and seventeen maps.

This book does fill a void in railroad history and will prove particularly valuable to California historians and history buffs who have long seen the Santa Fe as little more than an iron interloper that from time to time invaded the territory of the Southern Pacific but which hardly deserves attention as a California railroad. The facts as presented by Bryant serve to correct this imbalanced perspective.

CALIFORNIA THROUGH FIVE CENTURIES. By Katherine Wallace. (New York: Amsco School Publications, 1974. 452 pp. Illustrations. Price to Schools: \$2.00 paper.)

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF CALIFORNIA. By Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Haase. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975. n.p. \$9.95, \$4.95 paper.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *teacher of California history at Laney College and University of California Extension.*

I have long had a dream that I suspect is shared by many other teachers of California history. It is that someday someone will publish a brief, well-written and accurate paperback survey that can serve as an inexpensive core text for a course on the state's history. Apparently, this dream is not shared by the great publishing houses of America; each year still another massive, hardbound California history textbook rolls off the presses, but no paperback survey appears.

It was with some anticipation, then, that I began reading Katherine Wallace's *California Through Five Centuries*, for the book is a reasonably priced paperback, apparently designed for high school and community college students. It is well-organized and well-illustrated, but unfortunately this exhausts the list of its virtues. The work is poorly written and contains far too many factual errors. (For example, Wallace totally confuses the San Francisco vigilance committees of 1851 and 1856.) Her text is primarily descriptive, but when it lapses into interpretation the results are sometimes disastrous. We are assured that the Mexican War was "one of the less costly wars of history" and that "no serious enmity existed between the belligerents." The Mexican American is described as "naturally somewhat fatalistic in his philosophy, historically accepting without complaint whatever befalls him." If this is the kind of material to which our students are to be subjected, Lord help us all.

Fortunately, the *Historical Atlas of California*, also available in paperback, is a scholarly and valuable work. The format is a series of line maps accompanied by concise essays on a great variety of topics, ranging from mean annual rainfall to the Santa Barbara

oil spill. Sea and land routes to California, missions and ranchos, the growth of mining, agriculture and cities, the location of various political boundaries, and the perils of reapportionment are among the many subjects covered by the book. The authors should have made a bit greater effort to spell "San Andreas" correctly, and one could argue with some of their topic choices. (Do we really need to know the location of all the CCC camps of the 1930's?)

But the strengths of this book far outweigh its few weaknesses. It can serve as an excellent supplemental text for a variety of courses as well as a good source of general reference for anyone interested in California history or geography.

THE AMERICAN, RIVER OF EL DORADO. By Margaret Sanborn. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974. xiv, 354 pp. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *editor of the Reviews section of the Quarterly.*

It is difficult to think of a California river more susceptible to historical treatment than the American. John Frémont used its banks as part of his trail through the Sierra, John Sutter established his fort where the American meets the Sacramento, James Marshall discovered gold along the river, and Theodore Judah surveyed a portion of the trans-continental railroad through the American's canyons. As Margaret Sanborn puts it in the Preface of her book, "The American's story was, then, California's story."

Yet it is this fact that seems to give Sanborn her greatest difficulty. Too often her story strays away from the river, and while the book contains much valuable information about the American and its people, it also includes much over-simplified and unnecessary coverage of general California history. The result is an uneven work which lacks consistent focus.

Sanborn concentrates on the mining era and provides good descriptions of railroad building and agricultural development along the river. She also discusses the importance of tourism and some of the present-day threats to the American's natural environment. But the book gives short shrift to the lumber industry and ignores past controversies over distribution of Central Valley Project water and power.

The American, River of El Dorado is an often informative and sometimes delightful book, but we still need a more thorough and thoughtful study of the American River's role in California history.

NEW WORLD UTOPIAS: A PHOTOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE SEARCH FOR COMMUNITY. By Paul Kagan. (New York: Penguin Books Inc., 1975. 191 pp. Illustrations. \$5.95.)

Reviewed by ROBERT V. HINE, *Professor of History at University of California, Riverside.*

California has attracted, according to early Theosophists in Ojai, the "garnered fruitage" of ascending evolution. Similarly, in this book Paul Kagan, a San Francisco photographer-historian, has harvested California's rich and varied utopian experiments. Kagan has been selective: his focus has been on those California groups that kept good photographic records or left photogenic remnants. These he has collected or photographed and illuminated with a text. Except for Tassajara, modern communes are not

included, though they were initially responsible for Kagan's interest. In the late 1960's he worked with graphics at Lama, the mystical community in the mountains of New Mexico. After living there for a time, he returned to California to visit other groups. Combining his photographic skill with his historical training, he began his study of utopia, concentrating on the physical and human remnant that others had overlooked.

A commune, Kagan claims, echoes the relationship of nation to planet; it is part of a larger unit, while at the same time it seeks autonomy. The citizens of utopia, he implies, hold in common with traditional America a naive belief in the goodness of human nature. On the other hand, Kagan believes, as he says in connection with the Theosophical communities, that only through the self-discipline of their nature can people achieve the good society. The book is, in part, an exploration of that hypothesis.

Kagan's text functions primarily as historical background for the pictures. But it also contains interesting new, or little known material. The death of "Father" Elphick at Kaweah, for example, illustrates the hostility of the news media; the apoplectic collapse of this old man was sensationalized by the papers into a scandalous case of communal foul play. Likewise, the Holy City chapter has new details of William Riker's later exploitative charades including his plans to top the Santa Cruz mountains with a colossal female figure containing twelve elevators. The story of Pisgah Grande is well retold. Here, Kagan is as fair with Finis Yoakum, a variant of revivalist Aimee Semple McPherson, as he is with transcendentalist Suzuki Roshi, with whom Kagan is obviously personally more attuned.

Even so, the most intriguing parts of Kagan's book arise from his poking through the ruins. The ghosts of the utopian past stand beside us in the old Greek Theater at Point Loma. We are along when Kagan finds a rusty sausage can in the moldering kitchen at Pisgah Grande. Walking near Cloverdale, we feel the crunch of snails, descendents of the edible varieties brought to this valley by the French Icarians in the 1880's.

The photographs, however, remain Kagan's best contribution. When they come from archives, they are well chosen; when they are Kagan's own work, they are remarkable. The total effect is unlike other photographic essays. Normally photographs communicate greater immediacy as they move from the past to the present—more vitality, more action. In this case the moods are the opposite. The older archival items reveal people living their communal experiences. Kagan's explorations were, on the other hand, in the wreckage, and so the present emerges as fragmented, dusty, shattered, and tinged with defeat.

Kagan's book is not intended as a compendium. It is above all the evocation of a mood, the distillation of dreams, in which the mysticism of Thomas Lake Harris fits with the hard socialism of Burnette G. Haskell. The reason these perspectives make sense in one cover is that both are ultimately related to the prevailing society. In this instance, they are children of the California history from which they grew. Just as Tassajarans are enjoined, according to Kagan, to return to the larger society after a few years, so our minds move from mainstream California to the communal counter-culture and back again. Nevertheless, through these photographs, as in the laugh of Castaneda's Don Juan, we have glimpsed another reality, the essence of the utopian experience.



California Check List

JAY WILLIAR, *Reference librarian*

The purpose of this list is to provide our readers with an on-going bibliography of recently published or soon-to-be-published Californiana. Major publishing firms' nationally-distributed products, small local history groups' limited editions, and individuals' efforts all are welcome. We ask only that the books or booklets concern the California scene and be recent publications (1974 or later, although some reprints will be accepted as space permits and significance demands).

We particularly desire to list publications which would not be well advertised elsewhere, works more likely to be publicized by word-of-mouth than by an organized publicity campaign. Hence, we are dependent to a considerable degree on the response of our readers. If you know of a recent unlisted publication on California, please notify the compiler of this check list. Be sure to include the following basic bibliographic data: author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price. If the item is a limited edition published by an individual or small group, include the address where the book can be purchased and any special ordering instructions. Send this information to Jay Williar, Reference Librarian, California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson St., San Francisco, CA 94109. This listing in the *Quarterly* is, of course, free of charge.

- Abeloe, William N. *St. John the Baptist: Golden Jubilee Album*, [El Cerrito: Parish of St. John the Baptist, c.1975]. 85 pp. Illustrations. \$5.60. Publisher, 11150 San Pablo Avenue, El Cerrito, CA 94530.
- Alt, David D. and Donald W. Hyndman. *Roadside Geology of Northern California*. Missoula, Montana: Mountain Press, 1975. Illustrations. \$5.95. Distributor, Book People, Berkeley, California.
- Asian Americans: A Study Guide and Source Book*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$6.00. Publisher, 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94112.
- Basten, Fred E. *Santa Monica Bay: The First Hundred Years*. Los Angeles: Douglas-West Publishers, 1975. 225 pp. Illustrations. \$10.00. Publisher, Los Angeles, CA.
- Black Americans: A Study Guide and Source Book*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$6.00.
- Blaud, Henry C. *The Basques*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1974. \$8.00.
- Bonnheim, Walter. *From Dude to Cowman*. Fresno: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1975. 180 pp. Illustrated. \$5.95. Publisher, 1759 Fulton Street, Fresno, CA 93721.
- Buckman, C. T. *75 Years With The Shotgun*. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1975. 141 pp. Illustrations. \$5.95. Publisher, 1759 Fulton Street, Fresno, CA 93721.
- Chicanos: A Study Guide and Source Book*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$6.00.
- Cole, Cherry L. *A History of the Japanese Community in Sacramento, 1883-1972*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$10.00.
- Corpus, Severino F. *An Analysis of the Racial Adjustment, Activities and Problems of the Filipino-American Christian Fellowship in Los Angeles*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$8.00.
- Couro, Ted, and Margaret Langdon. *Let's Talk 'Tipay AA . . .* Ramona: Ballena Press, 1975. 262 pp. Illustrations. \$7.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92055.
- Crovetch, Albert. *Housing Migratory Agricultural Workers in California, 1913-1948*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$8.00.
- DeWitt, Howard A. *Images of Ethnic and Racial Violence in California Politics, 1917-1930*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$9.00.
- Directory of San Francisco Area Clubs and Organizations*. [San Francisco: Greater San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, 1974.] 41 pp. \$5.00.
- Dyer, Ruth C. *The Indians' Land Title in California . . . 1851-1942*. San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1975. \$8.00.
- Eureka Valley Victorians: SFSU, Geog. 699, Spring, 1975*. [Menlo Park: Stanford Research Institute, 1975.] Not for sale. Available for use at the CHS Library.
- Haight-Ashbury Victorian Inventory: SFSU, Geog. 699, Fall, 1974*. [Menlo Park: Stanford Research Institute, 1974.] Not for sale. Available for use at the CHS Library.

- Heizer, Robert F., and Karen M. Nissen. *California Indian History*. Ramona: Ballena Press, 1975. 90 pp. Illustrations. \$4.95. Publisher, P.O. Box 711, Ramona, CA 92065.
- Hennessy, James Pope. *Robert Louis Stevenson*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975. \$9.95.
- Hoffman, Abraham. *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974. 207 pp. \$9.75.
- Jensen, Peter L. *The Great Voice, An Autobiography of the Co-Inventor of the Loudspeaker*. Clearwater, Texas: The Havilah Press, 1975. 138 pp. Illustrations. \$12.00. Publisher, 807 Clearwater Drive, Richardson, TX 75080.
- Krakel, Dean. *End of the Trail*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975. 196 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95. Publisher, 1005 Asp Avenue, Norman, OKLA 73069.
- Lavender, David. *Nothing Seemed Impossible*. Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1975. Illustrations. \$12.95. Publisher, 599 College Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94306.
- Lescoffier, Ruth. *The Search for Samuel Reading Throckmorton*. Mill Valley: Presidio Press, c.1974. 28 pp.
- Marin Exchange of the San Francisco Bay Region. *The Golden Gate Atlas*. Edited by Patrick Hecq. San Francisco: Author. c.1974. 96 pp. \$2.67. Author, Ferry Building, San Francisco, CA 94111.
- Naef, Weston J., and James N. Wood. *Era of Exploration, the Rise of Landscape Photography . . .* [Buffalo: Albright-Knox Art Gallery, c.1975] 260 pp.
- Napa City and County Portfolio and Directory*. Napa County: Eby Press, 1975. 112 pp. Illustrations. \$22.00.
- Northrup, Marie E. *Early California Spanish-Mexican Families, 1769-1850. Vol. I*. New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1975. Publisher, 811 Orleans Street, New Orleans, 70016. \$20.00.
- Ogden, Adele. *The California Sea Otter Trade 1784-1848*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975. Reprint. 263 pp. \$12.75. Publisher, 2223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, CA 94720.
- The Pacific Rural Press, 1871-1948*. Palo Alto: Library Microfilms, 1975. 35 mm microfilm. \$1,800.00. Publisher, 737 Loma Verde Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94303.
- Pearce, Stanley. *Lift Up Your Hearts*. Menlo Park: Trinity Parish [c.1974]. 195 pp.
- Powers, Bob. *North Fork Country* [Kern River Valley] Los Angeles Westernlore Press, 1974. 160 pp. Illustrations. \$16.95.
- Rather, Lois. *Bufano and the U.S.A.* Oakland: The Rather Press, 1975. 127 pp. Illustrations. \$20.00. Publisher, 3200 Guido Street, Oakland, CA 94602.
- San Bernardino County Museum commemorative edition*. Redlands, CA: Allen-Greendale Publishers, 1974. 186 pp.
- Sargent, Shirley. *Yosemite and Its Innkeepers*. Yosemite: Flying Spur Press, 1975. 106 pp. Illustrations. \$16.00. Publisher, Box 278 Yosemite, California 95389.
- Schaffer, Jeffrey P. *The Tahoe Sierra*. Berkeley: Wilderness Press, 1975. 320 pp. Illustrations. Publisher, 2440 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, CA 94704.
- Swett, Ira L., and Harry C. Aitken, Jr. *Napa Valley Route*. Claremont: Interurbans, 1975. 576 pp. Illustrations. \$24.50. Publisher, P.O. Box 201, Claremont, CA 91711.
- Topolis, Michael, and Betty Dopson. *The Wineries of California, Vol. I*. St. Helena: Vintage Image, 1975. Illustrations. \$4.00. Publisher, P.O. Box 3286, Napa, CA 94558.
- A Vote in Time*. San Francisco: The League of Women Voters of San Francisco, 1975. \$1.50. The League, 12 Geary Street, San Francisco, CA 94108.
- Waldhorn, Judith. *Neighborhood History Projects For the San Francisco Twin Bicentennial . . .* Menlo Park: Stanford Research Institute, 1975. 22 pp. \$1.50. Author, M2309, Menlo Park, CA 94025.
- Waldhorn, Judith. *San Francisco Victorians: A Selected Reading List*. Menlo Park: Stanford Research Institute, [1974]. 11 pp. 25c. Victorian Booklets, M2304, SRI, Menlo Park, CA 94025.
- Weaver, Harriet E. *Adventures in the Redwoods*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1975. Illustrations. \$2.95.
- Weber, Francis J. *California Catholicism*. [Los Angeles: Archdiocese of Los Angeles, 1975.] 208 pp. \$12.50. Catholic Book Stores.
- Weiss, Melford S. *Valley City: A Chinese Community*. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, [c.1974]. 269 pp. \$4.25.
- Winkler, Albert Julius. *Viticultural Research at University of California, Davis, 1921-1971*. Davis: UC Press, 1975. 144 pp. Illustrations. \$21.45. Publisher, Davis, CA. Sold to Libraries only.
- Willhelm and Sagen. *A History of the Strawberry*. Berkeley: Agricultural Publications, University of California \$10.00 Publisher, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720

1851-1875

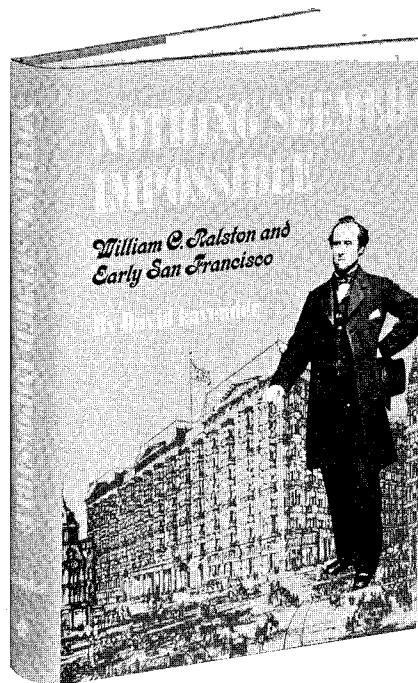
A brilliant new book
about the banker who
both shook and shaped
San Francisco during
its turbulent early days.

By David Lavender

140 illustrations

\$12.95

To be published October 15



AMERICAN WEST PUBLISHING COMPANY

PUBLISHERS OF THE AMERICAN WEST MAGAZINE
599 COLLEGE AVENUE, PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA 94306

..... 1776

A monumental work
that casts a new and
balancing perspective on
American history by presenting
the entire trans-Mississippi
West as it was in 1776.

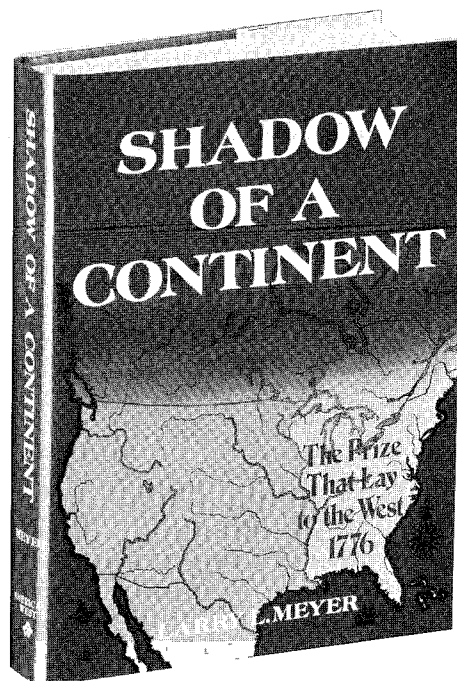
By Larry Meyer

former editor of Westways

100 photos

maps in 2 colors

\$14.95 until 12/31/75



NEW
FROM CALIFORNIA

California Gold Camps



A Geographical and Historical Dictionary of
Camps, Towns, and Localities Where Gold
Was Found and Mined, and of Wayside Stations
and Trading Centers

Erwin G. Gudde

Edited by Elisabeth K. Gudde

A basic reference that will be indispensable to the his-
torian, the geographer, and to the general reader inter-
ested in California's colorful past.

578 pages, numerous illustrations, \$17.50

Chiefs and Challengers

Indian Resistance and Cooperation in
Southern California

George Harwood Phillips

In this pioneering study, Phillips shows how Indians in
southern California shaped much of its early history,
sending shock waves far beyond their local settings and
forcing the whites to take action that affected themselves
as much as it did the Indians.

244 pages, illustrations, \$10.95

Water and the West

The Colorado River Compact and the
Politics of Water in the American West

Norris Hundley, Jr.

This work is about the greatest conflict over water in the
American West; more precisely it is about an alleged
peace treaty — the Colorado River Compact of 1922.

416 pages, illustrations, \$20.00

At bookstores



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY 94720

Roster of Sponsoring Members, 1975

CENTENNIAL MEMBERS

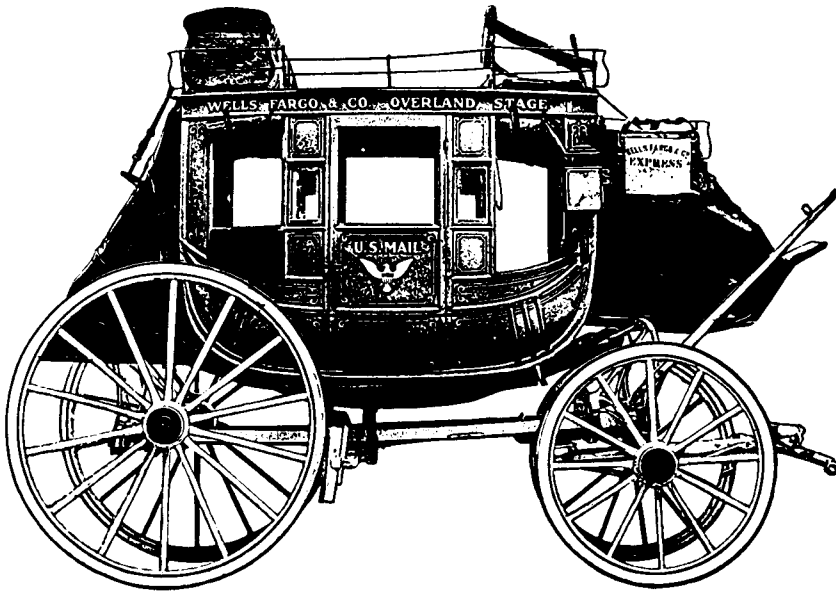
Mr. and Mrs. Henry M. Bowles, <i>San Francisco</i>	Mr. and Mrs. Warren R. Howell, <i>San Francisco</i>
Mr. and Mrs. Royal R. Bush, <i>Santa Barbara</i>	Dr. and Mrs. V. Aubrey Neasham, <i>Sacramento</i>
Mr. and Mrs. Preston Hotchkis, <i>San Marino</i>	Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Power, <i>Nut Tree</i>

BENEFACTOR MEMBERS

Mr. and Mrs. Robert J. Banning, <i>Pasadena</i>	Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, <i>Los Angeles</i>
Bixby Ranch Company, <i>Los Angeles</i>	Mr. and Mrs. David Potter, <i>San Francisco</i>
Mrs. James S. Copley, <i>San Diego</i>	Standard Oil Co. of California, <i>San Francisco</i>
William M. Hume Foundation, <i>San Francisco</i>	Mr. and Mrs. E. Hadley Stuart, Jr., <i>Los Angeles</i>
Mrs. Western Logan, <i>Oakland</i>	Wells Fargo Bank, <i>San Francisco</i>

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

Almaden Vineyards, Inc.	Jaquelin Hume Foundation
R. C. Baker Foundation	Industrial Indemnity Foundation
Bank of America N.T.&S.A.	Earle M. Jorgensen Co.
The Bank of California N.A.	Wilson & Geo. Meyer & Co.
Bechtel Corporation	Newhall Land and Farming Co.
Becker Manufacturing Company	Oakland Tribune
Bernard Food Industries	Pacific Gas and Electric Company
James G. Boswell Foundation	Pacific Railway Sales
John Breuner Company	Parrott & Co.
California Portland Cement Company	Peninsula Newspapers, Inc.
Chickering & Gregory	Pope & Talbot, Inc.
Crocker National Bank	San Francisco Commercial Club
H. S. Crocker Co.	San Jose Mercury-News
Crowley Maritime Corporation	Southern Pacific Company
Del Monte Corporation	Spanish National Tourist Office
Dodge & Cox	Stauffer Chemical Company
Fred J. Early, Jr., Foundation	Levi Strauss Foundation
First Chicago International, San Francisco	Sweco, Incorporated
Flax's	Title Insurance and Trust Co.
Foremost-McKesson Property Co.	Trans-Anglo Books
Franklin Savings & Loan	Transamerica Corporation
N. Gray & Company	Tubbs Cordage Company
Crescent Porter Hale Foundation	Mark Twain's Notorious Jumping
Hill and Co.	Frog Saloon
Hills Bros. Coffee, Inc.	Union Sugar Divn., Consolidated Foods Corp.
Holt Bros.	Whistler-Patri Associates
John Howell—Books	Dean Witter & Co.



WELLS FARGO BANK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED